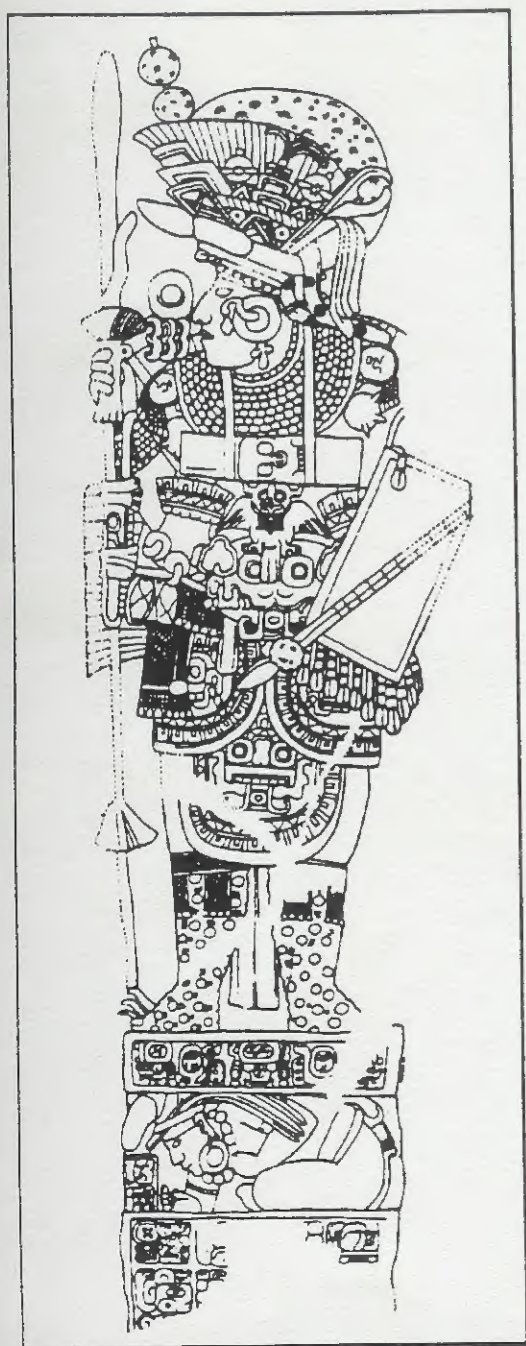


The Proceedings Of The Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop

Tlaloc-Venus Warfare



March 12 - 13, 1994
University of
Texas at Austin

Presented by:

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Second of all, I would like to thank my fiancée, Nancy Miller for all of her help in the final production of this volume. I could not have finished this work without her help. Thank You!

Lastly, I would like to thank all of my friends who purchase these transcripts over the years. Your support has helped me attain my goal of becoming an epigrapher and I can not thank you enough for all the wonderful friends that I have made along the way. You are the reason why I produce the series that I call The Proceedings of the Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop! Thank You! I would also like to thank Peter Keeler, the director of the Maya Meetings, for his help on getting the word around as well as facilitating my stays in Austin. Peter has been a huge supporter of these transcripts which insures that these historic workshops will not be forgotten. Thank you!

Phil Wanyerka
July 3, 1994

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Other Tikal project drawings: Plates from Burial 195

Lin Crocker: Rio Azul earflares

Ian Graham: Field Drawings--Bejucal Stela Stela 2; Calakmul Stela 43; Dos Pilas Stela 8; El Zapote Stela 1; Seibal Hieroglyphic Stairs; Site Q Glyphic Panel A; Site Q Glyphic Panel B; Tortuguero M6; Tres Islas Stela 1 and 2

Naranjo Stela 1; Stela 2; Stela 18; Stela 21; Stela 22; Stela 23; Stela 24: Ian Graham and Eric Von Euw, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 2, Part 1, Naranjo*. Peabody Museum Press. Copyright © 1975 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

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Stephen Houston: Caracol Altar 21; Arroyo Piedra Stela 2; Dos Pilas Stela 11; Dos Pilas Stela 14; Dos Pilas Stela 15

Matthew Looper: Tortuguero Box

Peter Mathews: El Peru Stela 33 fragment; Site R Lintel 1; Tonina M134

Jeffrey Miller: El Peru Stela 33

John Montgomery : Piedras Negras Lintel 12; Piedras Negras Stela 26; Tikal Dynasty pot; Tikal Stela 17; Tikal Stela 31, rear; Tikal Temple 1, Lintel 3

Dorie Reents-Budet: Lamanai Stela 9

Berthold Riese: Pusilja Stela D; Tortuguero Earflares; Tortuguero Sarcophagus;

William Ringle: Site Q Panel 1; Site Q Panel 2 (incised) left half

Merle Robertson: Lacanja Stela 1

Linda Schele: Bonampak Altar from Str. C (drawn after M.G. Robertson rubbing); Bonampak column from photographs; Bone from Dallas Museum of Art after photograph; Cancuen Panel from photograph; Chichen Itza mural; Copan Stela 20 (field drawing); Dos Pilas HS 2 from photographs and rubbings by M.G. Robertson; Dos Pilas Panel 7 after M.G. Robertson photograph; El Peru Altar 1; El Peru Stela 34 after a photograph provided by the Cleveland Museum of Art; Naranjo Stela 22, detail of captives names from photograph and field notes; Nim Li Punit Stela 2 phrase; Palenque House C panels; Palenque House D captives; Palenque HS; Palenque Panels from the Temple of Inscriptions;

Palenque Tablet of the Slaves from a Toniya rubbing; Piedras Negras looted panels (Brussels and Denver); Piedras Negras Stela 26 details; Pusilja Stela M (after Morley); Site Q Canberra Panel after original photograph; Site Q Chicago Ballplayer Panel from photograph; Site Q Glyphic Panel 7 from original photograph; Site Q Lintel from an Imgrid Groth photograph; Site Q Panel 2 (incised) right half—from a Kerr photograph; Site Q Panel 4 after a photograph; Site Q Panel 6 after a photograph; Site Q Panel 7 after a photograph; Site Q Panel 8 after a photograph; Site Q Panel D from original photographs; Site Q Panel from Princeton exhibition; Site R Lintels 1 and 2 texts; Tikal Altar 5 after M.G. Robertson rubbing and field notes; Tikal Marcador; Tikal MT 38; Tikal MT 39; Tikal Stela 5 detail of captive phrase after M.G. Robertson rubbing; Tikal Stela 5 (drawn after Morley's photograph); Tikal Stela 10 (drawn after Morley and personal field notes); Tikal Stela 13 (drawn after M. G. Robertson drawing and personal field notes and photographs); Dos Pilas Stela 2; Aguateca Stela 1; Aguateca Stela 2; Tikal Stela 17 (drawn after Morley); Tikal Stela 18 (drawn after Morley and personal photographs and field notes); Tikal Stela 30 and Altar 14 after Morley and M.G. Robertson rubbing; Tikal Stela 31 sides (drawn after M.G. Robertson rubbing); Tikal Structure 5D-57; Tikal Temple 4, Lintel 2 after Maudslay; Tonina Ballcourt Panel from photograph; Tonina Disk from the Citibank book on Tonina; Turtle Shell; Uxbenka Stela 1; Waxaktun Stela 4 (drawn after Morley and personal field notes); Waxaktun Stela 5 (drawn after Morley and personal field notes); Waxaktun Structure XIII mural; Yaxchilan Stela 10 after Maler; Yaxchilan Stela 11; Yaxchilan Stela 12 after Maler; Yaxchilan Stela 19 after Maler; Yaxchilan Stela 35 from photographs; Yaxha Stelae after Morley and Maler

Andrea Stone: Site Q Glyphic Panel 11

David Stuart: Piedras Negras Lintel 2; Rio Azul tomb mural

Carolyn Tate: Yaxchilan Stela 20

Unknown Artists: Altar de Sacrificios drawings; Altun Ha Pendant; Morales Stela 5; Site Q Glyphic Panel 9

GLOSSARY

Ahaw.....	royal title
Ah Bak.....	He of the Captive
Ah Bolon K'in.....	title or toponym associated with Calakmul
Ahen.....	to create, metaphor for accession
Ahk.....	turtle
Ah K'un.....	royal courtier
Ah Nab.....	stone carver
Ah Nabil.....	sculpture
Ah Nik.....	He of Flowers, prisoner of Shield Jaguar
Ah Ox Te Ch'u.....	He of the Three Tree Gods
Ah Pay.....	helmsman
Ah Ts'ib.....	scribe
Ah U Yub.....	He the Curtain Holder
Ah Wos.....	Naranjo King
An.....	carving
Akot.....	he danced
Bak Wah.....	the capturing of
Bah.....	he goes
Balah Kan K'awil.....	Ruler I of Dos Pilas
Balam.....	jaguar
Bate.....	ballgame title
Bubul Ha.....	water bug
Bul.....	bean
But.....	to fill, to stick in, to fill a tomb
Chab.....	to govern, to guard
Ch'ab Ahaw.....	local Cancuen King
Ch'akah.....	to decapitate, to chop, to damage things
Chak.....	to decapitate or to behead
Chakte.....	royal title, chief war title
Ch'am.....	to harvest
Chan.....	sky, snake, 4
Ch'ay.....	to disappear, metaphor for a person's soul, to loose
Ch'ok.....	young man, sprout, youth, child, member of a lineage who is not the head of the lineage
Chukah.....	he was taken captive
Chukhi.....	it was captured, taken captive
Chumlahi.....	he sat himself
Cimi.....	he died
Eb.....	step, stairway
Ek'.....	black
Elel.....	to burn
E Te.....	22nd Tikal king
Ha.....	water
Hal.....	to weave
Hok' Kan Ahaw.....	location or toponym recorded at Comalcalco
Holumte.....	corner tree
Hom.....	to end, to finish, to terminate, to tear down vaults
Hoy Ch'ul Na.....	Companion Holy Woman
Hub.....	to come down, to destroy, to down something, to peel down walls
Huch.....	conch shell
Huh.....	iguana
Hukub.....	canoe
Hul.....	to pierce, to perforate, to spear, to arrive
Huli.....	it arrived

Ik'at.....	Black Crossing Place
Itzamkah.....	Sorcerer of the Earth
Ite K'u Nun.....	He of the Divine Books, Bookkeeper
Iwal.....	and then
Ix Witz.....	Jaguar Mountain
Ka.....	second person pronoun
Kab.....	earth, land, hand
K'aba.....	name
Ka Bul.....	our beans
Kah.....	to do, to make, village, town
Kaj.....	town
K'akhi.....	burned, fired
K'an.....	precious, sky, snake
Kan Ahaw.....	Calakmul polity
K'an Ak.....	Precious Peccary
K'anhalib.....	Chol word for the month Pohp
K'an Kun.....	sky seat
Kan Tumak.....	Caracol polity
K'in Hix.....	name of a Tikal palanquin
K'inich.....	sun-faced
K'inich Bak Chak.....	Yahawte of Tonina
Koban.....	toponym or location
Ko'hol.....	helmet
K'u.....	owl
Kuchtah.....	to carry
Kuchi'.....	was carried
Ku' Ix.....	Calakmul King
K'ul Tz'at.....	divine artist
K'ul Way.....	Holy Sorcerer
Kun.....	seat, seat of political power
Kunil.....	platform for storing things
Kuy.....	owl, soldier, warfare, war leader
Kuyi.....	to arrange ancient histories
K'ux.....	to torture
K'uxah.....	it was tortured
Lakam.....	big
Lakamha.....	name of the capital city of the Palenque polity
Lak'in.....	east
Lak'in Wakah.....	El Peru toponym
Le.....	noose
Lok'.....	to come out, to free
Lok'i.....	he emerged, he came out, he freed himself from danger
Lot.....	to put together
Luk.....	spearthrower
Mah Chakte.....	royal title
Ma Ilah.....	he wasn't seen anymore
Mainkati.....	I don't want to
Makah.....	was contracted
Makan Witz.....	toponym
Man Ahaw.....	possible toponym within the El Peru polity
Mukah.....	was buried
Muknal.....	tomb
Mut.....	bird
Mutul.....	Tikal polity, Dos Pilas polity
Na.....	house
Nab.....	to varnish and to paint with red ochre
Nab Tunich.....	the Waterlily Stone
Na Ho Chan.....	creation place
Nakomma.....	enemy
Na Tetun Kaywak.....	name of woman associated with Topoxte
Nawah.....	he was dressed, painted or decorated as

Nen.....	mirror, reading of the Way Glyph
Nichil.....	He is the flower of, child of father
Nu Balam Lakam Chak.....	Jaguar Protector God of Tikal
Och.....	to enter
Och Bih.....	he entered the road, metaphor for death
Och Ha.....	he entered the water
Ok.....	foundation, base, foot
Oktel.....	title for heirs to the throne
Ox Ahaw Eb.....	Three Victory Stairs
Ox Witz.....	Three Mountains (toponym)
Pakab tun.....	stone lintel
Pakah.....	to form, to make
Pat.....	to form, to construct, to make special houses
Patlah.....	was formed, was made
Patwan.....	to make, to form
Payal.....	leader of, the first one
Peten.....	island
Pia Ahaw.....	Pomona Ahaw
Pitz.....	to play ball
Pitzit.....	ballplayer
Pitzla.....	ballgame
Pohp.....	name of Tonina polity
Pulul.....	toponym
Puluy.....	burning, location or toponym within Dos Pilas polity
Sacun.....	older brother
Sahal.....	subordinate lord
Sak.....	white, resplendent, clear
Sak Chuwen.....	white or brilliant artist
Sak Mas.....	white dwarf
Sak Nik Lak.....	white flower plate
Sak Nik Nal.....	soul
Sak Tz'at.....	white sage
Sak Tzi.....	white dog, location or toponym within Piedras Negras polity
Sih.....	to be born
Sihya.....	it was born
Tan.....	in the center of
Ti Ahawle.....	into the kingship
Ti Ch'amil.....	the harvesting of blood
Ti Kan.....	in the sky, with the snake
Tok'.....	cloud
Tok' Pakal.....	flint shield
Tuba.....	for himself
Tu Kun.....	at his seat
Tum Ol K'inich.....	Caracol King (K'an I), The K'inich Prophet
Tun.....	stone
Tzab K'an.....	rattlesnake
Tz'akab.....	successor
Tz'apah.....	the planting or erecting of a stela
Tzuk.....	constellation
Tzuk Ahaw.....	Quirigua emblem glyph, partition, barrio, province lord
Tz'utz.....	to end, to finish, to terminate
Tz'utz'yi.....	was terminated
U.....	third person pronoun, collar
U Bah.....	he goes
U Ch'amwa.....	he takes, he grabs
U Chan.....	the guardian of
Uhsi.....	child of, the gift of
U Huntan.....	he is the cherished one of
U Kahi.....	by the doing of, beginning
U Ka Tal.....	for the second time
U Ko'hal.....	headdress

U K'ul.....	the gods of
U Lahka K'atun.....	the 11th k'atun
U Muknal.....	his tomb
U Nakwa.....	to make war
U Nuk.....	the big
U Sak Nik.....	the white flower
Uti.....	it happened at
U Ts'akabil.....	he succeeds or follows to
U Tz'at.....	wise person, sage, artist
U Tz'akhi.....	substitution, replacement, breaks in a stair
Wah.....	bread
Wak Ahaw.....	form of El Peru Emblem Glyph or toponym
Wak.....	El Peru Polity
Wak Chan.....	6 Sky
Wak Hanab Kah Nal.....	Burial Mountain
Witz.....	entering the mountain, to pile up
Xan.....	to walk, to travel
Winik.....	master of men
Xupi.....	Copan polity
Yabak.....	He of the Prisoners
Yah.....	to wound yourself, to suffer
Yahal.....	the conquered one of
Yahaw.....	his king, vassal lord
Yah K'ul Na.....	the possessed title holder
Yakwa.....	he gave it
Yal.....	child of the mountain
Yatan.....	the wife of
Yax.....	first
Yax Ahaw.....	location or toponym within the Calakmul polity
Yaxha.....	green water, blue water
Yax Nik.....	blue or black flower
Yeteh.....	visitor, by the work of
Yich'ak K'ak'.....	Jaguar Paw (Claw of Fire)
Yichnal.....	in the company of
Yik'in Kan K'awil.....	Ruler B of Tikal
Yilah.....	was observed
Yitah.....	relationship or companionship among high lords or kings or older and younger brothers of kings, companion
Yok.....	the base of
Yompi.....	location or toponym recorded at Comalcalco
Yub.....	curtain
Yu Itz'i Winik.....	younger brother person
Yuk.....	to join
Yukum.....	title used by Calakmul kings, joiner
Yukum Kun.....	the Uniter of Seats
Yunen.....	the child of

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THE XVIIIth MAYA HIEROGLYPHIC WORKSHOP
SATURDAY. MARCH 12th, 1994
9:10 A.M.

INTRODUCTION

(Linda) For those of you who are new, this is Nikolai Grube from the University of Bonn. He is my partner this year. This is the XVIIIth Maya Meeting and they have accumulated over the years, in an unplanned array, so in a strange way the names have changed. This is officially known as the workshop. The first segment to these workshops was called the Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop and in its original state is was designed to teach people who had never read glyphs before how to read them. It started in 1977 for those of you who don't know it. Within five years many of the now "old hands" began to say that during the workshop everything made sense, but the minute they left the room it dribbled out their left ears. They asked if we could do something about that and so the Advanced Seminar was set up. The first two or three times that we did the Advanced Seminar it became very clear to us that this was where everyone really began to learn the glyphs. So today, if you want to come and learn the correct way of learning hieroglyphs you need to come to the Advanced Seminar. In the meantime, this is my eighteenth workshop and in order to avoid repeating the same things year after year, this has become the place where we just explain the most recent development decipherments. The reason for explaining that to you is because all of the "old hands" know this material well and can understand it. Those of you who are here for the first time will feel like you are in an altered state of consciousness. I don't expect you to all understand this material from the beginning. You would not go to the University of California to attend a two day workshop and expect to come out being able to read, write, and speak Chinese. This is a full-bodied writing system and you are not going to learn how to read it this weekend.

As a result, we are going to eliminate almost the entire first half of the workbook, except for the material that contributes to what we are going to examine when we look at this history. I am now going to start out with a little bit on Bishop Landa and then Nikolai is going to use the phoneticism section to explain to you or give you the defense for critical readings that are new and necessary to understand what we are going to do with the alliances and the history this weekend. By the second half of this morning we are going to plunge in and start the history. Nikolai and I are going to start from 378 AD and go as far as we can. We are going to show you the information that he and Simon Martin, along with myself, Steve Houston, and all of the historical epigraphers have been using to try to understand what the political structure and the history of warfare was for the Classic Period. Now the workbook is doing something that essentially has never been done before this year. It shows all of these events cut up into separate individual sentences or into passages. They are cut of their original contexts and they are set in chronological order. If you expect to find all of the lintel or monument in this year's notebook, you are not going to find it. This will not help you understand how texts work as a whole because this year the emphasis is not how whole texts and discourse work, but rather history and how it can be reconstructed.

One last thing that I would like all of you to know is that this is not the work of just one or two person's research. This is the results of many people including archaeologists, linguists, and historical epigraphers working together. You should also note that not all of the epigraphers are going to agree with all of the interpretations, but we are now dealing with history and nobody agrees on history. Many of these people are in the audience here too and we will acknowledge many of them as we look at the history.

LANDA'S ALPHABET

This is Landa's alphabet (Fig.1). I am not going to go thru the Landa story this year so read your workbook if you want to understand what the problem of communication was between Landa and a Yukatek Maya who was trying to help him understand the writing system.



Fig.1

The important thing that we need to look at here is that Landa, who thought that he was getting an "A,B,C" or an alphabet, instead got the sounds of that alphabet transcribed for him. The Maya did not have an alphabetic system. They had a syllabic system and so the Maya gave Landa a phonetic transcription of what he was hearing. It is not an alphabet, but what this document does give us are the examples of spelling that the Mayan Indian gave. It gave Yuri Knorozov the hint of how the spelling works in this system and it gave us a core set of phonetic values. Basically, we have three Ah signs, two be signs, a se sign, a te sign, an e sign, a che sign, and an i sign. The next two signs here and here are important because they are glottalized consonants in Maya languages which do not exist in Spanish. They are ca and k'a and cu and k'u. There is also one more and it is pe and p'e. I am not going to go over the entire syllabary this year, but I would like you to understand that this is the core set or the Rosetta Stone to the understanding of Maya hieroglyphic writing. This gave Yuri Knorozov, David Kelley, Michael Coe, and Floyd Lounsbury a beginning set of know values that they could plug into a substitution set within the writing system that allowed them to set up an environment for values to be tested.

In addition, Landa gave us three examples. As he took the examples he gave us enough information to understand what the error was. Essentially, Landa did not conceive that anybody could write or think in a different way from a 16th-century Spaniard. He presumed that the Maya would be writing like the Spanish and if you read this you will find that he was totally confused. Landa asks his informant that he would like for him to spell the word for noose. That word in Yukatek is le (Fig.2). In Spanish that word is pronounced e l e le and that is exactly what the Maya wrote.



Fig.2

That told Knorosov how the Maya spelled. Nikolai will go into it a little more when he starts out. We then get the second example which reads a che ha (Fig.3) and it is written with an ah sign, a che sign, and a ha sign.

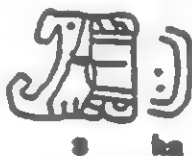


Fig.3

The last example is after a long frustrating session and Landa tells the Maya to write whatever he wanted. The Maya wrote mainkati (Fig.4) which means "I don't want to."



Fig.4

In addition to these examples Landa also received drawings of the day and month signs (Fig.5). The days do not give us a lot of auxiliary information, but the months do because most of the month signs evolve as phonetic groupings in Chol. What the Maya did was to put little auxiliary signs on the month signs to explain to Landa how to pronounce them in Yukatek. For instance, in Chol this month is pronounced K'anasi and that is how the glyph is spelled, but in Yukatek it is pronounced Pohp.

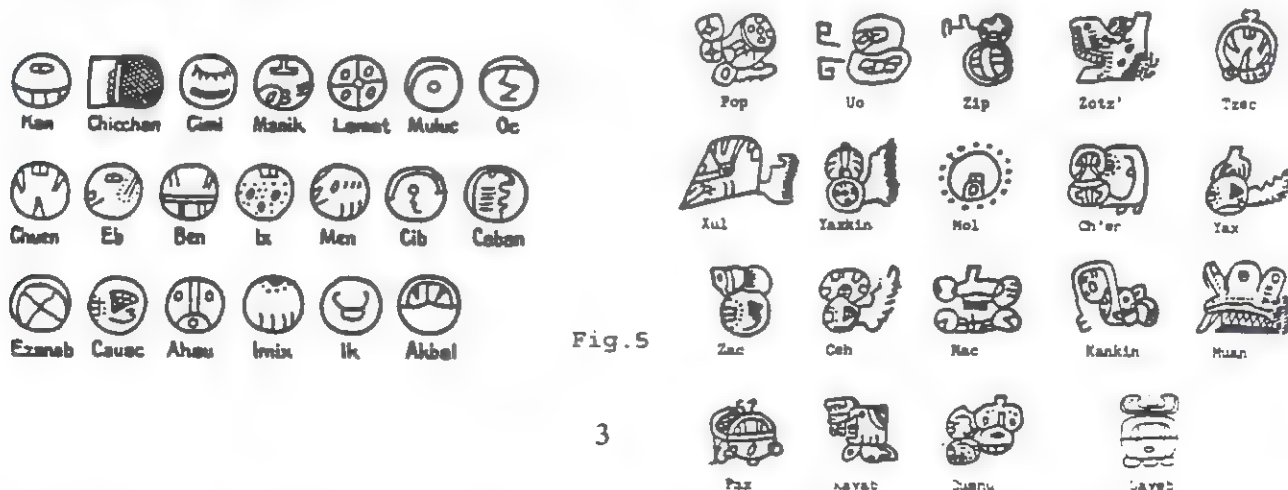


Fig.5

The next example is pronounced Ikat or "Black Crossing Place" in Chol and in Yukatek it's pronounced Uo. These additional signs essentially add to the inventory of beginning signs that epigraphers started with as epigraphy accelerated in the 1950's, 60's, and 70's. The person who played the major role in this was Yuri Knorosov (Fig.6).



Fig.6

This is all of the epigraphers' favorite picture. Yuri Knorosov is the person who figured out how the spelling worked and he published it in 1952. We came across a Yuri picture in the archives from when he was a child (Fig.7) and realized that there was a Pre-Columbian Yuri too (Fig.8).



Fig.7



Fig.8

SYLLABIC SPELLING AND HOW IT WORKS

The writing system that the Maya used was a syllabic system where we have signs that represent whole words, called logographs. For instance,

you can write the word for "jaguar" just by drawing the head of a jaguar (Fig.9). We also have full-figured forms (B). Because there is more than one word for jaguar in Maya, they would often add on phonetic complements. The word for jaguar was balam and as Peter Mathews explained last night this is a logograph with a phonetic complement, in the form of a syllable, appended on the bottom of the sign to tell you that this word is one that ends in "m" (C). Example "D" also shows us the principle of substitution because if we have other signs that appear in the same position you can start to hypothesize that they have the same phonetic value. This is called the Principle of Substitution. Any sign that substitutes into the identical context should be equivalent.

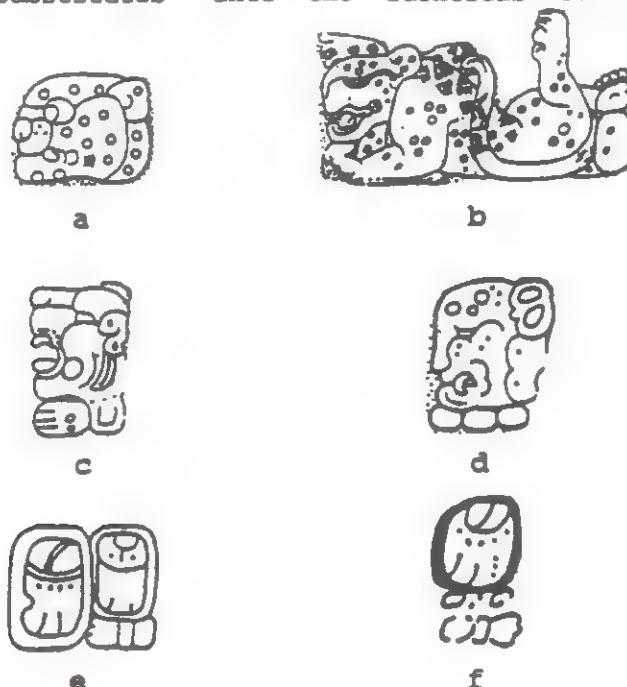


Fig.9

I was taught either the substitution would be on the semantic or the phonetic level and in 99% of cases it is going to be on the phonetic level. They could also just take the pure syllables and spell out the word by combining the signs ba, la, and ma (E). This led Knorosov to propose that Maya spelling worked by the principle he called Synharmony. He went on further to say that most roots in Maya languages are consonant/vowel/consonant. In order to spell then, there would have to be two signs representing C/V values and the second consonant is not pronounced. The Principle of Synharmony proposes that when possible the Maya would use C/V signs that had the same vowel. It ends up however, that there are some exceptions to that. Some consonants that you would make by touching the ridge behind your teeth (alveolar consonants), act in Maya languages to make the vowel rise after you say them. The other thing that we have found out is that over time this is not an absolute rule, especially in the final position. The second vowel can be more flexible than Knorosov thought. It's only a tendency that they are the same. There are also some words that they will spell that are CV/CV/CV, thus using three signs and the last vowel is not pronounced.

So basically the spelling is done through syllables that are locked together in that way. Now over the years, by using the Principle of Substitution, we have created what is called a syllabary (Fig.10 and 11). A syllabary is created by taking all of the consonants that exist in a language and you combine them with all of the vowels. The writing system appears to only have five vowels. They are pronounced with Latin values. The reason for that is Spanish was the language or vehicle for putting it into a written form that uses Latin characters.

You then combine each of these vowels with all of the possible consonants. Remember that in Maya there are consonants that most English speakers don't ever hear. There's the plain cha and the glottalized ch'a. In order to pronounce a glottalized syllable you just need to close your voice box down low in the throat when you say it. There is a ka and a k'a. The other pairs like this are the pa and the p'a, the ta and the t'a, and finally the tza and the tz'a.

What you need to do then is go through the writing system and look for signs that represent these combined values. This is the inventory as we have it now.

	a	e	i	o	u
b					
ch					
ch'					
h					
k					
k'					
l					
m					

Fig.10

	a	e	i	o	u
n					
p					
s					
t					
tz					
tz'					
w					
x					
y					

Fig.11

Now all of these signs can be combined with logographs or you can use any of these signs together to spell any word that you want. This is something really important to get across. The Maya system can write any sound sequence required in Mayan languages. It is a fully operational, fully mature, fully functional writing system. The Highland Maya today, have invented a series of signs which they now put together with these, because there are several consonants and vowels that exist in Highland languages, but do not exist in the Lowland

languages, and since the writing system originally evolved to write the Lowland system they can't write some of their consonants with this writing system. I would also like you to know that there are several language groups who are writing modern K'iche totally in this system with no reference to Spanish or Latin or European characters at all. This is not a dead writing system any more. Now Nikolai is going to show you examples of how we developed both phonetic values of signs and the readings of glyphs.

THE U KAHI AGENCY EXPRESSION

(Nikolai) I would like to point out that many of the syllabic signs actually can be used as logograms and many logographic signs, on the other hand, can be used as syllabic signs. There is no clear distinction between one category of signs and another one. In fact, some of the signs that show up in the syllabary can have a final "h" and then are used as logographic signs. All the signs that end with "k" often lose the final "k"; for example, the word sign tok becomes a syllabic sign for to. There seems to be processes by which phonetic signs generated out of a word sign, which we still have to study. I want to present you with some very important decipherments and phonetic readings which we will use during this weekend to decipher Maya history and historical events. I will start with a glyph which seems to be very important and we may have several hundred examples of this glyph. For me this was very astonishing, that this glyph has had such a wide distribution and has never been commented upon with no real decipherment formally presented. The glyph that I am talking about is this one (Fig.12). The first person to realize this glyph's importance was David Kelley. In an article he published in 1962 on the inscriptions of Quirigua he noticed that this glyph usually precedes names of historical persons. In these two examples, this glyph precedes the name of U Bak Chak (A), the ruler of Dos Pilas and in the second example from Copan the glyph precedes the name Yax Pac, the 16th king of Copan (B). At the time David Kelley didn't actually know what the glyph meant, but he gave it a nickname. We very often use nicknames for glyphs in those instances where we can not translate those glyphs. Nicknames are very often descriptive and have nothing to do with the real meaning, so do not be confused by this.



U Bak Chak

Copan



Yax Pac

Fig.12

David Kelley called it the U Cab glyph because the main sign of the glyph is used as the Day Sign Kaban. But you have to understand that Day Signs usually have a cartouche. When this main sign is infixed into this kind of cartouche it becomes a Day Sign. Day Signs usually have a completely different reading than when the sign is located

outside of a cartouche. This is actually an example of a Semantic Determinative which exists in many writing systems. In the Maya writing system there are only two. One is the Day Sign cartouche and the other are two dots which are written in front of a phonetic sign to double the syllable. These signs are not read like other signs, but they change the interpretation of the reading of the sign (Fig.13).



Fig.13

This was the reason why David Kelley gave it the nickname u cab. This was all we knew for a very long time until finally in about 1982 we and especially Linda noticed that the u cab glyph occurred in verbal positions. In Linda's Verb Book she listed it as a verb because it precedes nominal glyphs and contains verbal affixes and prefixes. It contains the u sign as a prefix and u signs are pronouns and are very often found in front of verbal glyphs. This glyph occurs in so many different contexts (historical texts, dedication texts, birth contexts, and in capture contexts) so that it was clear it could have a specific verbal meaning, but it had to be a very general verb. Again, there was no reading or translation for this glyph at that time.

In 1987, David Stuart published his very important paper entitled Ten Phonetic Syllables in which he showed for the first time that this sign (the suffix) has a phonetic value hi (Fig.14). He could also show that the group of three u-shaped signs can also substitute for the value hi.



Fig.14

This is the same glyph (C), but here the hi sign is replaced by a head of an animal. David could also show the other sign here has the value ya. The ya sign is added in many glyphs that end in the vowel i to confirm that the i vowel is read. It is not, as in many of the other cases dropped. This glyph had to read something like u, for the pronoun and hi with the ya was not being read, but in this case the ya was used to confirm the hi. Many intransitive verbs in Maya languages have a past suffix which is i. So since we knew that this had to be a verb we could be quite sure that the i is nothing else but a verbal suffix indicating that the verb is to be read in past tense as a completed act. The question is what is the "H" and how can it be interpreted? The most likely interpretation is that it is functioning here as a phonetic complement changing the reading of the main sign which David Kelley called Kaban. This was the state of the art reading until the late 1980's. In the late 80's a couple of people independently suggested that this glyph which always precedes the agent of sentences is an auxiliary verb or is an agent of the verb which states that the person named after it is a main protagonist of the event which is described in the first part of the sentence. Very often the sentences in which this u kaban compound is found has a first verb and then an

object or another name and then our glyph and the name of a historical person. Here (Fig.15) we have the first verb and then an object or another name and then we have our glyph and the name of a historical person. In the second example we have the first verb, another name, our glyph, followed by another name. The third example shows the same thing. Here we have the first verb, an object, our glyph, followed by the name Pakal as the agent.

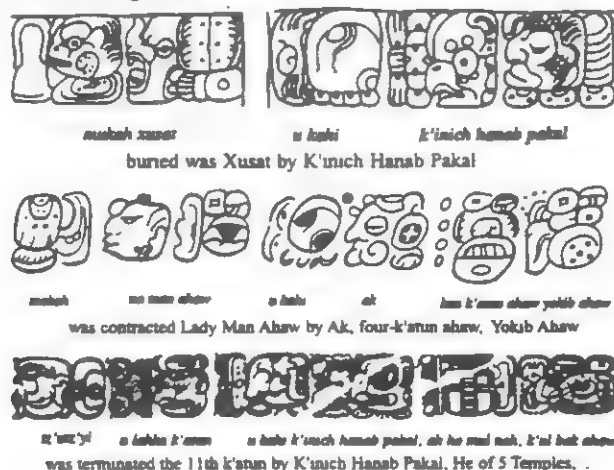


Fig.15

Peter Mathews was, I think, the first person to base the reading of this glyph on u kab which can mean something like "in the land of or in the territory of." That meant that this event (the first verb in each of the examples) was done to these persons or objects "in the land of" Pakal (first example) or by a ruler of Piedras Negras (second example). Linda suggested a more general interpretation which was very close to what we think this glyph reads now which is "under the auspices of." In this case (third example) something was done by this person "under the auspices of" Pakal of Palenque.

With the decipherment of the hi part of this glyph, it became clear that the main sign couldn't read kab because it was very unlikely to have a hi phonetic complement after a kab glyph. I think John Justeson, Barbara MacLeod, Simon Martin, and I all found independently that the most likely translation of this glyph was u kahi. In many Maya Lowland languages u kahi is the word for "doing or beginning." Auxiliary verbs and agency expressions in Maya languages are very often composed of the verb "to do and to make" and proceed the name of the agent of the sentence. In 16th century Yukatek Maya, Chontal, or Chol you want to say "he has done it." You would say u kahi. U Kahi in Yukatek Maya and in other languages is also used to name the agent of passive sentences. The subject of intransitive verbs is deleted and the object becomes the new subject of the intransitive verbs. In this case with the passive construction, (Fig.15 the top example) the verb reads mukah, "he was buried or buried was" and then the name of the person who was buried. The sentence actually ends here and if you want to say who the person was who was commissioning the burial you have to express it by a new verb. This then is the u kahi verb. This was done by K'inich Hanab Pakal. (Second example of Fig.15) This is a very similar verb, makah. With a passive voice it means that a "contract was made" with this lady Na Man Ahaw (a lady from the Man site). I think that this was a marriage contract which I think we will talk about later. We then have u kahi "by the doing of" this person from Piedras Negras. (Last example in Fig.15) In the last example we have an intransitive verb which also has only one subject. This reads tz'utz'yi u lahka k'atun or "the end of the 11th k'atun thru the doing of" K'inich Hanab Pakal, Ah Ho Mul Nah "He of the Five Temples," K'ul Bak Ahaw "the divine lord of Palenque."

Now the only evidence for reading the Kaban sign is the ka syllable sign and the hi suffix, but actually we have much more evidence for the

reading of the main sign as kah. The hi suffix is one phonetic complement for the reading and there was more evidence accumulating. From the Madrid Codex, we have the word chak "to decapitate or to be-head" written by an axe and ka phonetic complement for the chak and a ha suffix (Fig.16).



Fig.16

In this case you can see that the kaban sign is substituting for what is here written ka ha (example #2). In this case we have the sign ch'ok written with two eyes (example #4) which spell the title ch'ok "young men or sprout" with a ko phonetic complement.

In January of this year I received a letter from a young Swiss epigrapher, Christian Prager, who noted that on the Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic Stairway 3, Step III the kaban was used as a ka syllable. In the glyphic connotation, chukah or chukahi "he was taken captive" as it is written on this stairway is good evidence.

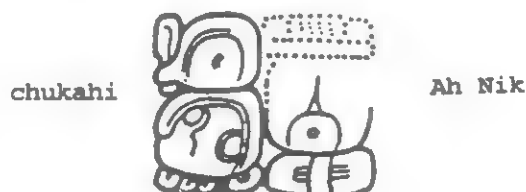


Fig.17

You can not see this in the published drawing of the stairway, but if you check the photograph of it you will see that this is really a kaban sign and what follows is the name of the captive Ah Nik.

Simon and I have also found that the kaban sign is used in a set of substitutions which involves the main sign of the Yaxchilan emblem glyph (Fig.18) and the sign which is used in the Star War glyph as a suffix under the star sign. In this example here (example #4) which is an upturned earflare, the earflare is used in substitution for the kaban sign. The same substitution occurs in the Yaxchilan emblem glyph (example #3) with a variant of the kaban sign.

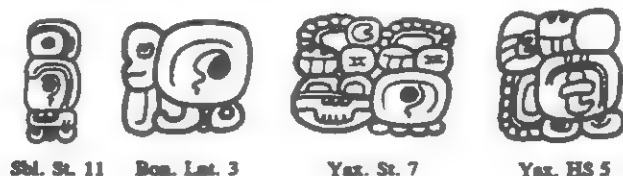


Fig.18

This particular variant of the kaban sign which only has this loop and not the full oval of the side can also occur at Seibal and Bonampak (examples #1 and #2).

So our hypothesis for one of the main signs of the Yaxchilan emblem glyph is the following. As you can see there are two in example #3 one is the split sky sign and the other is a ka. Kah besides meaning "to do or to make" also means "village or town" and the reason for the Yaxchilan emblem glyph having this pair of signs is probably because it

refers to a sky place and a divine village place. The reason why the kaban sign can be used as a sign for kah is that kab means "earth and land" and kah means "village and cultivated land."

You can see how the substitution works in the Star War glyph here (Fig.19). In the name of Itzamna this variant of the Yaxchilan emblem glyph (example #3 of Fig.18) also occurs as a suffix. In this example (example #6) all that is there is a small dot with a small tail and the hi suffix. We know that one of the names for Itzamna was Itzam Kah which means "the Sorcerer of the earth" and that is the reason why there is a hi suffix recorded on some of his names. Here it is on this example from Quirigua (example #5). Here it is on this example from Xcalcumkin (example #4) and in this very stylized example Itzam Kah is holding a hi sign in his arm (example #3).

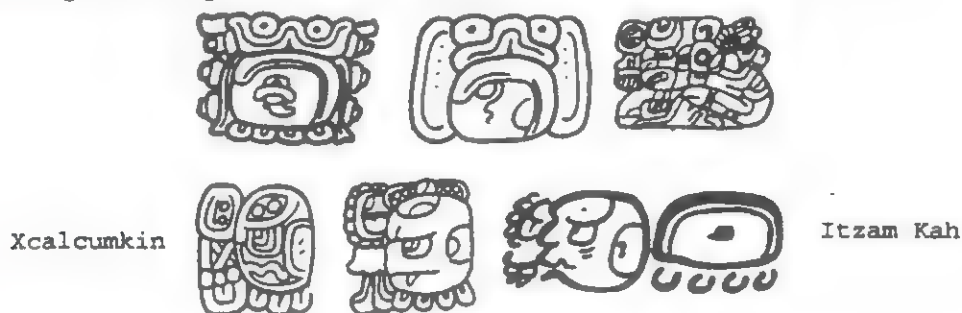


Fig.19

We also have numerous accession expressions where we have the accession verb and then the name of the person who is acceding to the throne with an u kah glyph following and then the name of another king. In these cases the second name is the name of the overlord who is doing the accession to the person who is preceding the u kah glyph. So the person is acceding "under the auspices of" a subordinate lord who is named in the accession phrase.

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE HUB VERB

Another glyph which I would like to point out which is extremely important when talking about wars is the hubuy verb. I don't know who the first person was to identify this as a war verb, but I think it might have been Barbara MacLeod and Dorie Reents in a Caracol paper which was presented at Palenque. They identified this glyph a war verb but they did not know exactly what it meant and how it was translated (Fig.20). The glyph consists of three signs, a superfix, a sign sandwiched between the hu and a shell suffix.

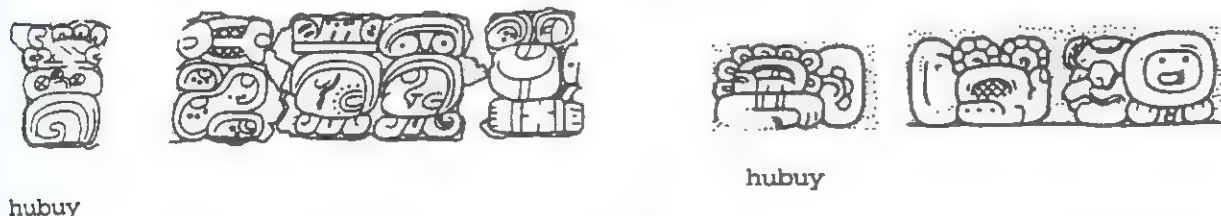


Fig.20

It took us until 1989 before we could decipher this verb. Linda showed an example from Palenque with this sign, identified as a war glyph, which also occurs in contexts of heir designations, but we had no idea how these two contexts (war and heir designations) fit together.

I became very interested in the middle sign, the sign with the loop and the three cross-hatched dots. One of the first things I found when

I was trying to decipher the middle sign was a text from a lintel which came from the Bonampak region in a dedication phrase. It is used in the phonetic spelling of the word for "lintel" (Fig.21). Here it is, u pa ka, and this glyph is followed by the glyph for tun meaning "stone" (example #1). On a different lintel, also from a lintel in the Bonampak region in a dedication phrase, we have a similar construction (example #2) with pa and ka, but this time we have a glyph without the small cross-hatched area and it had to be the same sign as in the first example. Lastly we have the tun glyph followed by a ni and yi suffix. It was clear that this example was also the word for "lintel." ka

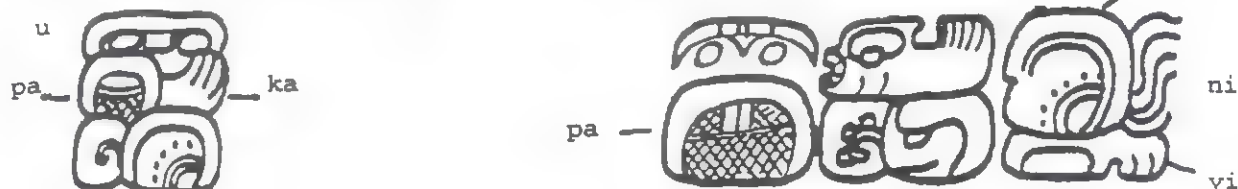


Fig.21

In Maya languages, the word for "stone lintel" was pakab. The initial hypothesis was that this sign spelled a syllable for "b" vowel and I had no idea what the vowel was. I couldn't tell from this context because you can only tell how the vowel works if it is followed by another vowel or consonant. The verb then read u pakab tun "his lintel stone."

Other prominent contexts where we could check the reading of this sign were unfortunately in word final contexts. We know from a 16th century source that in 16th century Chol the names of the month Pohp was K'anhalib (Fig.22). Here it is written out with K'an "precious" hal "to weave" and the hypothesis was that is had to be "b vowel or vowel b" to provide the final "b" for the k'anhalab.

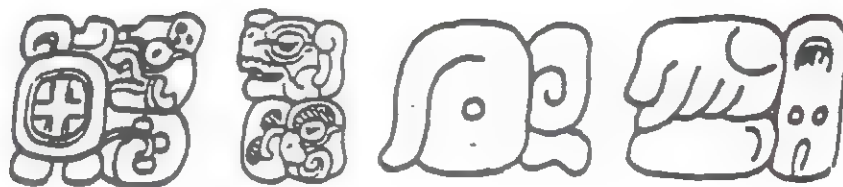
K'anhalib



Fig.22

What we could also see was that this sign without the four dots can really interchange with the sign that has the three or four dots. Also the small head is used together with this sign because apparently this is an entity and it doesn't change the meaning of this sign.

Again, we couldn't say by then what the final vowel was. In another example here from glyphs which we knew from David Stuart's work (Fig.23) had to be glyphs for possessed forms of "his step." Eb is the word for "stairway" and our glyph would be a pronoun for it. Here we have a ye sign, identified by David, and you can see the curl here for the "b." Again we couldn't say what the vowel was. Here we have the ye hand and we can say that the "b" sign is below it (this last example is from the Hieroglyphic Stairway at Copan). We found on the Hieroglyphic Stairway from Naranjo (second example) this head here which David, Steve, and I identified as an e frog which was paired with our sign which also had to provide the final "b." On an Hieroglyphic Stair, recently discovered at Copan (first example), we have the expression K'anal Eb "precious Stair" written with the frog (e) and the curl meaning "b something."



K'anal Eb

Fig.23

Somehow when we studied the distribution of the curl sign, in the majority of the cases, it is combined with u vowels. It was very likely then the "b" had a u vowel and so we tried to read the sign as bu. In fact, bu made a lot of sense. David Stuart pointed out that this is in the name phrase of a person at Bonampak and Piedras Negras (Fig.24) and it is read bubul ha "water bug." In this case there are two dots which are used to indicate that the sign is to be read twice.



bubul ha

Fig.24

Steve Houston then pointed out a phrase where u yub was with a representation of the individual holding a curtain on a polychrome vase (Fig.25). It reads ah u yu bu and means "He, the curtain holder."



ah u yu bu

Fig.25

It can also relate directly to a tribute cloth, which is a very important element in the iconography of captive Maya vases. Tribute is represented by some extent of cloth and it also means that this person is not only holding a curtain, but really paying tribute to a seated god who is showing a god upon a seat.

The next example shows three bundles and it comes from a throne scene (Fig.26) where there is a seated god in front of these three bundles. These three bundles have glyphs and the element which repeats in those glyphs is a small bu sign over as the last syllable. Bul means "bean" and the sign in front of it on the first two bundles is ka. Ka is a second person pronoun and so ka bul means "our beans." These elements are the contents of these bundles. The third bundle has the number 3 or ox ka bul "three bundles of beans."

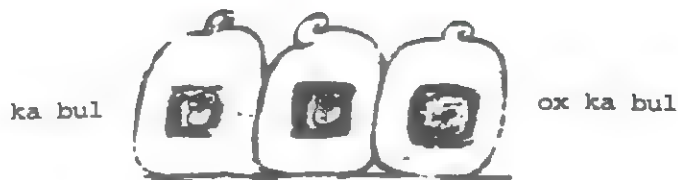


Fig.26

Here is another context where we can be sure that this sign reads bu. It comes from the Palace Tablet at Palenque (Fig.27). We knew for a long time that this had to do with the death or burial of the Palenque king K'an-Balam. It translates as u but wa. The u is a pronoun, wa is a verbal suffix, and the root is but which means "to fill, to stick in, and to fill a tomb." This is a reference to the burial of the Palenque king.



Fig.27

We had one sign of the three signs that constitute a war verb deciphered though more signs are missing and we have to decipher them. One was a superfix and the superfix always bothered us. I think the true context when we first see how the superfix is read was on a pair of conch shells. One is in the Cleveland Museum of Art and the other is from Simojovel in Chiapas (Fig.28). The two glyphs occur in contexts where it was clear that they had to be name tags or in phrases that specifically said that "this is my object." It was clear then that this verb must refer to this conch shell or object. In both cases the first sign is the hu syllable for the possessive pronoun u. This second sign has long been known to be the syllable chi. Huch in the Maya languages means "conch shell" and when I checked the Chol dictionary it was correct. This then was a good hypothesis that the superfix was to be read hu.



Fig.28

I tested this sign in other occurrences. For example, in a bloodletting scene on Yaxchilan Lintel 24 (Fig.29) we have an introductory glyph saying "he is doing it" ti ch'amil "the harvesting of blood" ti butz hu lu "with the smoke hul or at the smoke hul." Hul can have many translations here. Hul among other things means "to pierce, to perforate, and to spear." In a bloodletting context, the translations to perforate and to spear tend to make sense.



Fig.29

In other contexts the hul sign appears for "to spear." It occurs in a name phrase from Piedras Negras (Fig.30). One of the attendants sitting in front of the Piedras Negras king (Lintel 2) has this name. It begins with the phonetic spelling Ah Pa Ya Li and this is Hu Ku Bi. We have two words here Ah Payal and Hukub. Hukub is a Maya word for "canoe" and Payal means the "leader of or the first one" so that means that this person was the leader of the canoe. It is very possible that the attendant shown on this lintel came to Piedras Negras via canoe.



ah pa-ya-li hu-ku-bu
"leader of the canoe"

Fig.30

Lastly, in the Dresden Codex there is a specific group of glyphs that name food offerings (Fig.31). The main sign is read wah in Maya and that's why there is a wa sign as a phonetic complement. This is a kind of bread and this has to be an adjective describing the kind of bread we are dealing with. Huh, with a silent "h" is the word for "iguana" and iguana bread is one of the very common food offerings still used in a Yucatek Maya ritual. This then makes a lot of sense here in this context.

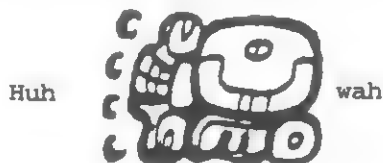


Fig.31

The final proof for the hu reading comes from an element of Glyph D of the Lunar Series which was used in contexts with toponyms (Fig.32). Glyph D in the Lunar Series is long known to count the days that have elapsed since the first appearance of the moon in the sky after the New Moon. For example, this glyph reads 11 days has elapsed (#1) and this is the 3rd day after the moon became visible again (#3). We could not translate this glyph, but it was clear that these various forms of Glyph D had to spell the same word even though their variants are different.



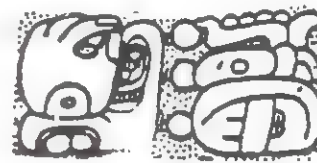
huli

Fig.32

One of the clues on how to decipher Glyph D came from our reading of this head (#2), the iguana head, which reads huh and so the idea was that this sign in phonetic contexts is used as a syllable hu also. The suffix is long known to be the syllable li and this is the syllable ya as deciphered by David Stuart. The ya sign is used after the syllable li sign in order to be sure that the i has to be read and this is a verbal suffix. The idea was that Glyph D of the Lunar Series represented an intransitive verb for a completed aspect to huli. Hul means "to arrive." The translation of this form of Glyph D was "he arrived."

This also made a lot of sense in this form of Glyph D. We were able to show that this sign here, the main sign, looks like the glyph for 20

or the syllable ha, but is different from these two because it has three dots and a small eye infixed. This time it is a logogram for the entire word hul (example #1 of Fig.32). Here it has a hu phonetic complement as well and a ya sign in order to say that it was a completed aspect verb. This then is another form for the verb "the moon has arrived" huli. Then we have another variant which is a hand with a li suffix and a ha suffix (example #3). In other examples of the hand it can also have a hu superfix as a phonetic complement. So it was clear that this hand also was phonetically the word huli. So in all of these cases, Glyph D is translated as hul. The problem here too is that the iguana or frog head can sometimes be used as the syllable sih and sometimes is used as the syllable hu. In birth contexts this head is clearly used as sih "to be born." Barbara MacLeod and I found that Glyph D can be paired with locational toponyms to indicate that a person "arrived" at this certain place (Fig.33). Here in example #1 we have iwal hul "and then he arrived at" Tikal. In example #2 the hul glyph is used to say that this god is being born. In Cholan languages "to arrive at the place" is used as a metaphor for a child being born and that is what we have written here huli ch'ok Nen K'awil Matawil "it had arrived, the child, GII, at the place called Matawil."



huli ox witik



huli ch'ok Nen K'awil Matawil



holahun huli huli Ek Nak Tunich

Fig.33

From Copan, (example #3) on a long text describing the lineage of Copan it says huli ox witik "he arrived at the Copan toponym." Finally, example #4 says holahun huli and in the example next to it we have huli Ek Nak Tunich to say that some person had arrived at this place which is in the vicinity of the Naj Tunich cave.

So the hu sign was pretty well established. To continue with the war glyph we now have hu as the first syllable and bu as the second. Now I will talk about the third syllable. If you want to read the argument for the first time you should go to David Stuart's 10 Phonetic Syllables paper and read about the syllable yi. The entire glyph phonetically reads hu bu yi and from its contexts it's clear that this is an intransitive verb. It can only be a subject not an object. In its completed form it can have a i verbal suffix (Fig.34). The verb root is simply hub and the question is whether the verbal suffix is uy or yi but there are many intransitive glyphs which have the yi sign as a suffix. Hub has several very interesting meanings. The most prominent one in connection with an heir apperency, as in this example from Palenque shows hub meaning "to come down or to down something." Here it reads hub taoktel "he came down into the oktelship." Oktel is a kind of title for heirs to the throne. Hub specifically means that the young prince came out of the temple, descended the stairway and for the very first time was presented to the public as an heir to the throne of Palenque. In war contexts like here in example #3 hub

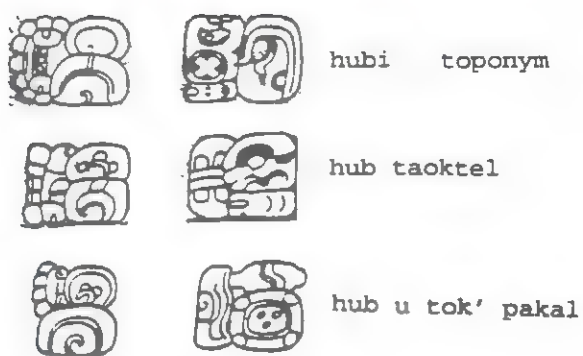


Fig.34

precedes the glyph u tok' pakal "his flint shield." This expression, which we will see later, doesn't only refer to flint and shield, but also is a metaphorical expression for a war banner carried into the battlefield. Here hub means that the war banner of the enemy was taken down through the action of someone. Sometimes hubi precedes toponyms and place names like in this case (Example #1) where it can also mean "to destroy and to peel down walls." So this is very appropriate in war contexts.

A VERB FOR LOK' "TO LEAVE" AND "TO ESCAPE"

I am now going to talk about two more events which are very important. What you see here in Fig.35 is a picture of a snake coming out of the yi shell. This verb is also used as an intransitive verb in texts that are relatively shorter than transitive verbs. The yi sign here, again indicates the completed aspect suffix of intransitive verbs. What this sign means can be partially reconstructed from their use in the Madrid Codex where we have scenes of gods emerging from the open maws of serpents.

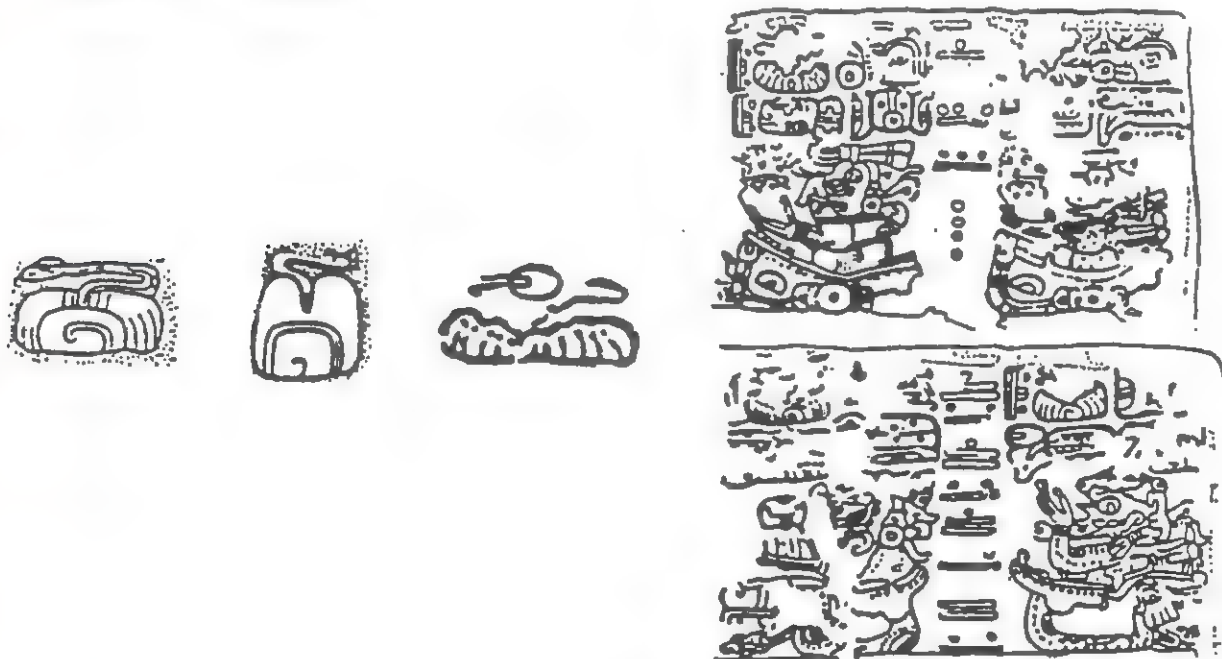


Fig.35

This is the verb here and sometimes in the Madrid Codex the text is terribly eroded. This verb is always shown with people coming out of the maw of serpents. It has to mean something like "to come out or to emerge."

In the Dresden Codex, which is much better preserved the same verb occurs here in scenes which again show gods seated on the open maw's of a huge serpent (Fig.36). It is clear in these two independent contexts that the association between the verb and the act of emerging from are how these serpents are formulated.

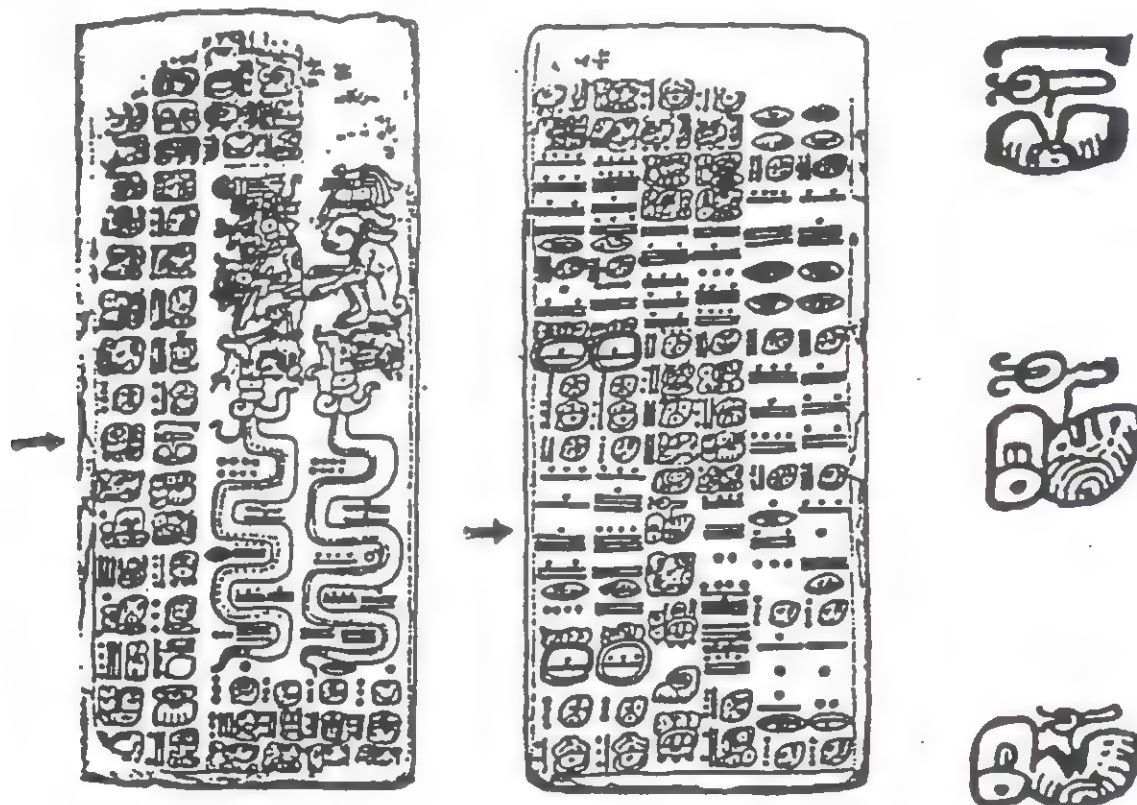
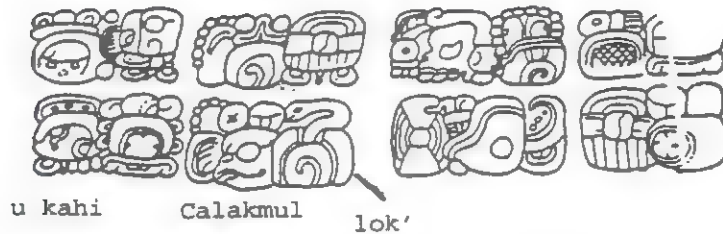


Fig.36

Now independently I worked on this glyph in a glyph class I taught in Bonn in 1991-92 on war and this glyph suggested that the verb meant "to emerge or to come out." Last year I received a letter from Alfonso Lacadena, a young Spanish epigrapher, who also came up with the same decipherment as I did. What we also noticed is that this glyph sometimes is just a serpent coming out of a yi shell with a lo prefix with it. Since the glyph doesn't change without the lo sign, recorded in exactly the same context without any observable change in meaning, we formulated the hypothesis that the word begins with lo which represented a lo consonant for it "to come out or to emerge." Going through the dictionaries we found lok' which in Yukatek means "to come out and to free." In Tzotzil and in Chol it is a word for "to emerge or to come out." The historical contexts in which it appears are very interesting and we will talk about it more later in greater detail. Here for example it's the lok' and what follows is the name of the king of Tikal, from a hieroglyphic stairway at Dos Pilas (Fig.37). So the king of Tikal "came out" of the place as a consequence of a Star War against Tikal u kahi "by the doing of" the king of Calakmul.

Star
War Tikal



Lok' can also mean "to free from danger" as a transitive verb and it's exactly this meaning which can be applied to a number of contexts, but since time is running out here I think we'll move along. (Linda mentions here that there is one more piece of evidence not shown here. On Copan Stela A, the action of bringing the little effigies out of the snake head when he stands there is spelled phonetically lo k'u. There is an example then where this verb is spelled out phonetically where the action of the holding the Double-Headed Serpent Bar and calling out the beings from the Serpent Bar is shown. There we can simply translate it as "to bring out.")

We are now going to look at a few more contexts where lok' "to emerge or free from danger" makes a lot of sense. This is also from the Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway (Fig.38) where the date continues here with a Star War event, which unfortunately we can not yet read. Then we have what David deciphered last year: pulul, which is a place name. That means that there was a Star War at Pulul. Then we have the lok' verb in context with the name of the Tikal king.

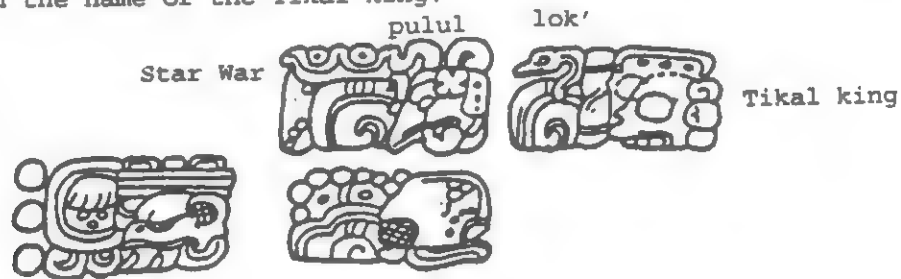


Fig.38

This then was an attack by Dos Pilas against a place called Pulul and as a consequence the Tikal king was "free from aid or was leaving the place."

This is much more convincing when you see this in context because there is a whole sequence of related events where we will see this over and over throughout the next two days. It proves that a critical occupation of places by people from different toponyms was part of Maya warfare.

A HIEROGLYPHIC VERB FOR "TRAVEL" AND "WALK"

Finally, the last verb that I will talk about in war contexts which I deciphered last year is the xan verb. It's a very rare verb. There are only four or five known cases for it. It occurs on intact lintels from Site Q (Fig.39). In this case it has a simple na suffix as a phonetic complement and what follows is a toponym. Here it's the same main sign with the suffixes ni and ya. Again, we have already seen how the i and ya works. They spell the uncompleted suffix for intransitive verbs. Then we know that the "n" of the ni and ya are

phonetic complements for the main sign of the verb. So what this verb had to represent by seeing just these two examples was a verb CVC because most of the Maya roots have the construction of consonant/vowel consonant and here the last true consonant had to be "n."

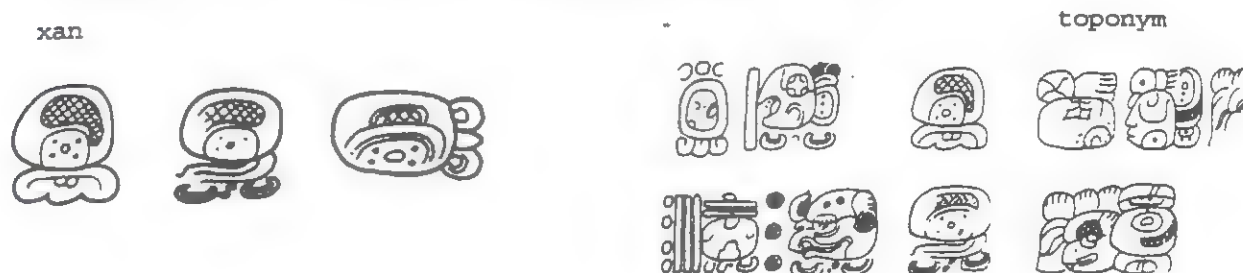


Fig.39

The question was, "What was the first part of the reading of this sign?" I found on a square Codex Style pot, published in Dorie Reents exhibition catalogue, a xan glyph (Fig.40). The glyph begins with a xa sign first identified by David Stuart. I thought, since there was no other explanation for the xan context, that this had to be a phonetic complement. I checked the reading xan for the verb and found xan to be extremely interesting. Xan means "to walk and to travel" and in this context here it means that this person, whose name is here, traveled to this place called Nab Tunich "the Waterlily Stone." Then we have a distance number followed by xani "after he had traveled" and then we have a name followed by iwal huli "and then he arrived." So after this event he traveled for 3 years, 11 months, and 19 days and then he arrived.

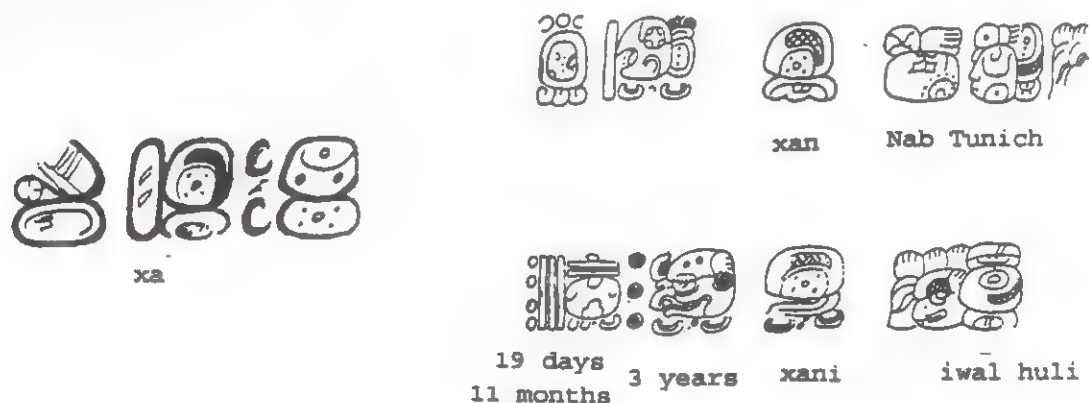


Fig.40

The xan verb also occurs in a very important context in Dos Pilas (Fig.41). How it's used in the context of this particular stair you will see in the next two days.

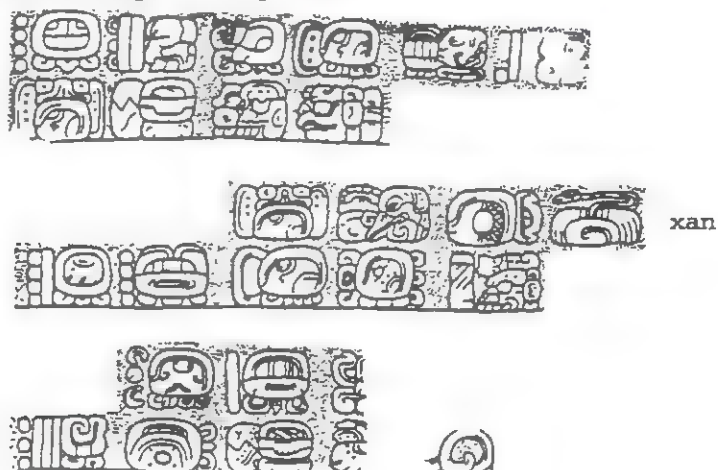


Fig.41

(Linda) The important thing here is that all of these verbs identify critical actions. One is "to arrive" for people arriving at a particular site. One is "to travel" where they are moving between places. One is "to force people out" or "to leave" places and the other one helps us to define agencies.

(Nikolai) This is to show why the u kah reading is so important. Here we have a couple of accession statements (Fig.42) to illustrate the most obvious ones. Here we have the accession phrase of a king from Naranjo (example #1). Here is his name (A1) and the accession verb is almost completely gone (B1), but we have here the u kahi glyph (E1) "by the doing of" and then we have the name of the king of Calakmul (F1) with the Calakmul emblem glyph (G1). So the king of Naranjo, in this case, acceded through the "doing" of the king of Calakmul. What does this mean? It was very prestigious for the king of Naranjo to express that he acceded under the auspices of the king of Calakmul, otherwise he would not have said that explicitly. Here we have two very eroded examples from Caracol (examples #2 Stela 6 and #3 Altar 21). Here we have chumlahi "he sat himself" (A1) ti ahawle "into the kingship" (B1) Yahaw Ti K'inich which is the name of the Caracol king (C1) then followed by the Caracol emblem glyph (D1) and an u kah glyph (E1) followed by a name and the emblem glyph of Tikal (F1). So the king Yahaw Ti K'inich of Caracol acceded "by the doing" of the king of Tikal. In this text from Piedras Negras (example #4) it refers to an accession of Yaxun Balam, maybe the same Yaxun Balam that we have at Yaxchilan. The text reads, lok'yi "he came out" (B1) ti ahawle "into the kingship" (A2) Yaxun (B2) Balam (A3) u kahi "by the doing of" (B3) followed by a title or name for the king from Piedras Negras. In this example from Quirigua (example #5) we have the accession phrase of U Ch'am K'awil "he took the image or he took the scepter" Butz' Chi Bu Chan which is the name of the Quirigua king (A1) followed by a title (B1). Here we have u kahi "by the doing of" Waxaklahun U Bah K'awil (A2) of Copan (B2). This is the Quirigua king acceding "by the doing of" the king of Copan.

#1



accession

u kahi name Calakmul

Caracol Stela 6

#2

chumlahi ti ahawle Yahaw Ti u kah name Tikal
K'inich

Caracol Altar 21

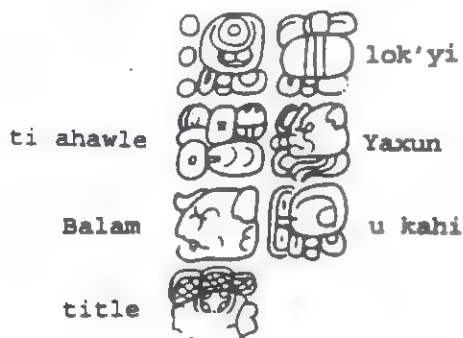
#3



Yahaw Ti K'inich Tikal

Piedras Negras Lintel 3

#4



lok'yi

ti ahawle

Yaxun

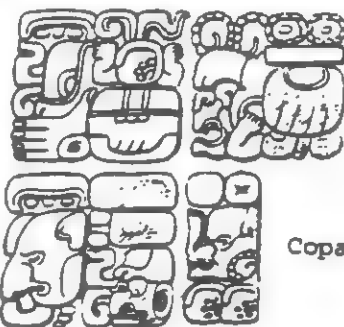
Balam

u kahi

title

Quirigua Stela E

#5

U
Ch'am K'awil
Butz' Chi Bu
Chanu kahi
Waxaklahun
U Bah K'awil

title

Copan

Fig.42

Simon and I took these as clear examples of a hierarchy where a king installs a subordinate king. We have more examples of this from Cancuen (Fig.43). Here we can not read this second verb, but it refers to the presentation of uplifting of war insignia. This is tuba "for himself" (A3). This is the name of a king (B3 A4) followed by yichnal "in the company of" (B4) and then we have a couple of names or gods recorded at (A5-A7). Then we have u kahi "by the doing of" (B7) Yukun (A8) Ox Te Tun (B8) the Chakte (A9). Chakte a title carried by the kings of Calakmul and Ox Te Tun is a toponym for the large site of Calakmul. Calakmul has an emblem glyph, but also a specific toponym for the site itself. Again, we have an accession under the auspices of the king of Calakmul.

Cancun Panel

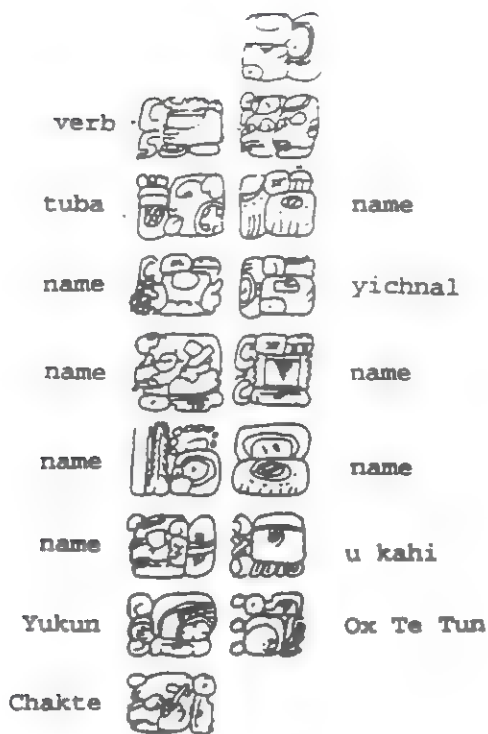


Fig. 43

In Fig.44 we have another text that begins with chumwan (A1). ti ahawle (B1) "he sat himself into the kingship" followed by the name of the Cancuen king (A2-A3) u kahi "by the doing of" (B3) Yukun (A4) and here we have the Calakmul emblem glyph (B4).

Cancun Panel

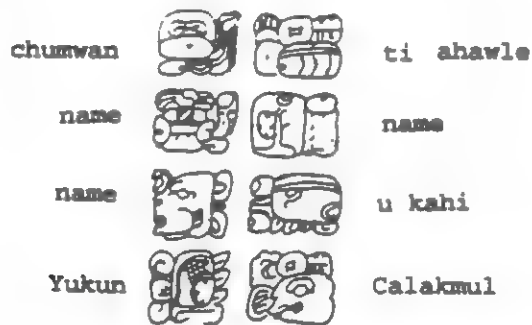


Fig. 44

Finally, on a text from El Peru (Fig.45) we have cham ahawle (A1) "he took the kingship" and what follows maybe the name of the El Peru king (A2) with the El Peru emblem glyph here (A3). I do not know exactly what to do with these two glyphs here (A4-A5), but here is u kahi "by the doing of" (A6) and again the name of a Calakmul king (A7) followed by the emblem glyph for Calakmul (A8).



Fig.45

HIERATICAL TITLES

We already began to talk about hierarchies and since it is a very important concept I will explain it a bit further. In Maya inscriptions there are huge amounts of titles which have been identified since the 60's and 70's. Kings like to carry lots of titles. One of these titles was for the king, but we could identify other titles such as ahaw and others for subordinate lords, warriors, officials in royal courts, and titles referring to specific offices (Fig.46). Ahaw, of course, is one of the most common royal titles. The title ahaw is not only used by the high king, but also by heads of families (#1). Then we have sahal (#2). Sahal was first identified by David Stuart as the title for a subordinate lord. Sahal under certain circumstances can become king, can become ahaw, and members of the royal family are also sahal. Then we have another title (3#), first identified by David Stuart and Steve Houston, which is Ah K'un or Ah K'una. We are not exactly sure how to translate this title yet, but it probably means "royal courtier." Sometimes the na suffix is substituted by a nu syllable. So another idea by David on the reading of this glyph is Ah K'u Nun "He of the Divine Books or Book Keeper." This is Ah Ts'ib or "scribe" (#4). This is Ah Bak or "He of the Captive" (#5). This is Ah Nab and we are not exactly sure what it meant, but it may have been a title for "stone carvers" (#6). These titles can be possessed. Then the possessor of the title holder is a subordinate person. This then is Yahaw "his king" meaning that if a name was in front of this title the person who carries this title is an ahaw, but this person is possessed by a superordinate lord or vassal lord (#1). Then we have another example of the Sahal title (#2) in the possessed form U Sahal. The same thing can happen with the Ak K'un title (#3) where it can be Ya K'un. Ah Ts'ib becomes Ya Ts'ib the "scribe of" (#4) and Ah Bak becomes Ya Bak (#5) "He of the Captive of". Finally, Ah Nab becomes Ya Nab (#6).

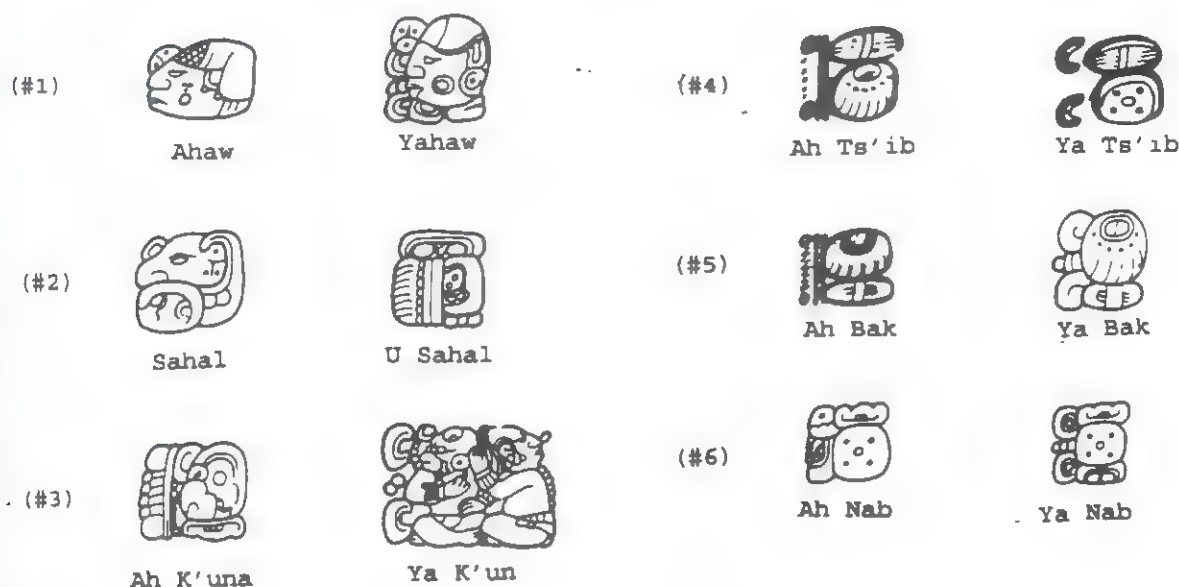


Fig.46

We knew for some time that titles could be possessed and I wanted to show this to you in order for you to see the hierarchy existing inside secondary Maya texts. We can also see that the Yahaw title is involved with linking kings of two different polities. So hierarchy doesn't only exist inside a political unit, but also between political units in the Maya area. This is very important. Here for example (Fig.47) we have the name of Smoking Squirrel from Naranjo (A1) who is a Yahaw (D1) followed by the U K'un title (E1) of the Calakmul king (F1). This means that the Naranjo king is a vassal lord of Calakmul.

Naranjo Stela 1



Fig.47

Here the Dos Pilas king is a Yahaw or "vassal lord" of the Calakmul king (Fig.48).
Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 4, Step IV

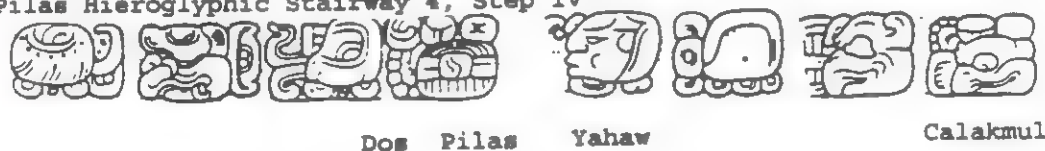


Fig.48

Here is another example from a small stela in the St. Louis Art Museum (Fig.49). We have a Bonampak king as the Yahaw or "vassal lord" of a king from Tonina.



Fig. 49

Here a king from Arroyo de Piedra is a vassal lord to the king of Dos Pilas (Fig. 50).

Arroyo de Piedra Stela 7

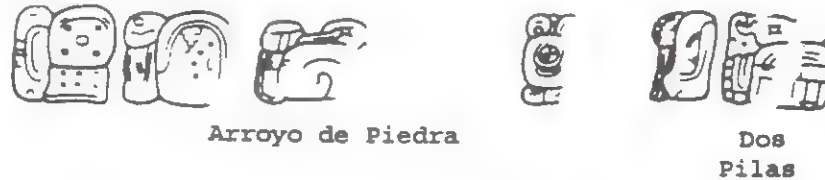


Fig. 50

This is a very good example from Bejucal Stela 18.0.0.0.0. The king from Mutul de San Jose polity is the vassal lord of what we think to be Tikal (Fig. 51).

Bejucal Stela



Fig. 51

This is from an unprovenienced panel from the Bonampak area (Fig. 52) where we have a Lacanja king being the vassal lord to a person from another site called Sacul.



Fig. 52

These examples for hierarchies tend to be very rare because kings don't want to express too much vassal lord talk either. This would lead to too much public propaganda inside their own polity and inside their own polity these kings were the rulers. (A discussion breaks out here on the reading of Ahaw and Yahaw by Terry Kaufmann and Nick Hopkins. Nick points out here that you can not fight the syntax. That means that ahaw is not the type of supreme ruler under someone else. That's the only way you can understand these constructions and since we have places where we have titles higher than ahaw that is not a big problem. This would mean that he is the ahaw of so and so. It doesn't mean that he is the lord over so and so. He is an ahaw serving under somebody else. Linda then says that you can have someone accede or to

be seated into the ahawship, but that doesn't necessarily mean that they are the same rank as emperor. They can have people over them and even the person who is holding the ahawship of the site may have many other people at that same site who also have the right to call themselves ahaw. In other words, the ahaw is a length level that many people in one site can be a part of or have the right to carry. The problem here, as Terry is saying, both in Maya and in English is that when you say "his lord is" that means that his lord is the superordinate. What we are saying here because of the structures is translated it as vassal lord. The relationship here is vassalage in the sense of European nobles, that one person is acknowledging the authority over another person. They are both of noble rank. What we are talking about here is the problem of the semantics of the word ahaw. If you take ahaw to be "lord owner" no matter which way you set the syntax it refers to a superordinate or a person with superior rank who owns something else. Apparently, there was a semantic shift in the way the title was used.

THE KUN TITLE

(Linda) Now what I am going to present here is primarily the work of David Stuart and Steve Houston. I think that it is important that we talk about this because again it has to do with the kinds of places where battles are happening and the kinds of units of spaces that are being talked about in these texts. It began with the recognition that this sign right here which, appears in the texts at Aguateca (Fig.53), begins with the glyph for a mountain that's split on the top and has the word for K'inich which means "sun-faced" on top of it. It is a perfect description of Aguateca.

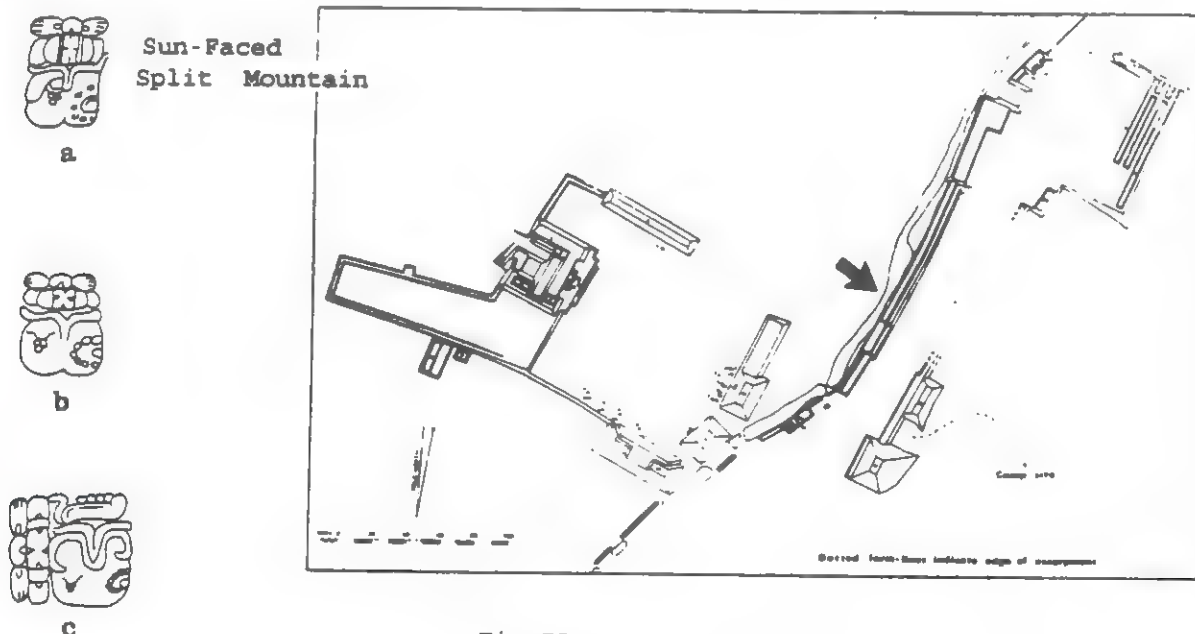


Fig.53

Aguateca is built on the edge of a really high escarpment. Down the middle of the site is a huge cleft in the middle of the mountain. What David and Steve proposed was that "Sun-Faced Split Mountain" is the perfect toponymic description of this place. This was the first clue that led to the identification of descriptions of either parts of polities (parts of political entities) in terms of landscape or placement in the geography. Palenque can be called in a larger

political entity a nation or a state if you will. It can have one name and the components of that state, like a capital city or the land to the west or the valley to the south will have specific names. Those names get presented in the inscriptions in various ways. They appear in terms of the large polities as the toponyms plus k'ul in front and ahaw over the top. You can then describe a person as a "Holy Lord" or as a "Lord Of" this particular state on an emblem glyph level. Those political entities can change shape and size depending on the political fortunes of the history. Sometimes they can be huge. Sometimes they can collapse. However, these toponyms within these places appear to be constant. Very often they will correspond to the main sign in an emblem glyph in these titles and sometimes they will have different ones within the title.

In Fig. 54, David Stuart has read the Tikal polity name as Mutul. Very often the Tikal version of this glyph will have yax with it. Yax means "first" so its name is either Mutul or Yax Mutul the "first Mutul." Apparently, not only did Dos Pilas call itself Mutul, but from the very beginning, Tikal was worried about calling itself the "first Mutul." The main sign of the emblem glyph can then be combined with a sky glyph which was probably pronounced in the Classic Period K'an. I have looked at the end of the glyph which is called an impinged bone because it will either be a disembodied eye or a long bone, or a lower jaw that is right over a cartouche that is divided in half and will often have cross-hatching on one side of it and is plain on the other. Because of that, Thompson called it the impinged bone. The k'an reading is fairly clear (the sky sign with a na suffix), but what has happened over the years is the development of what the reading of the second half is.

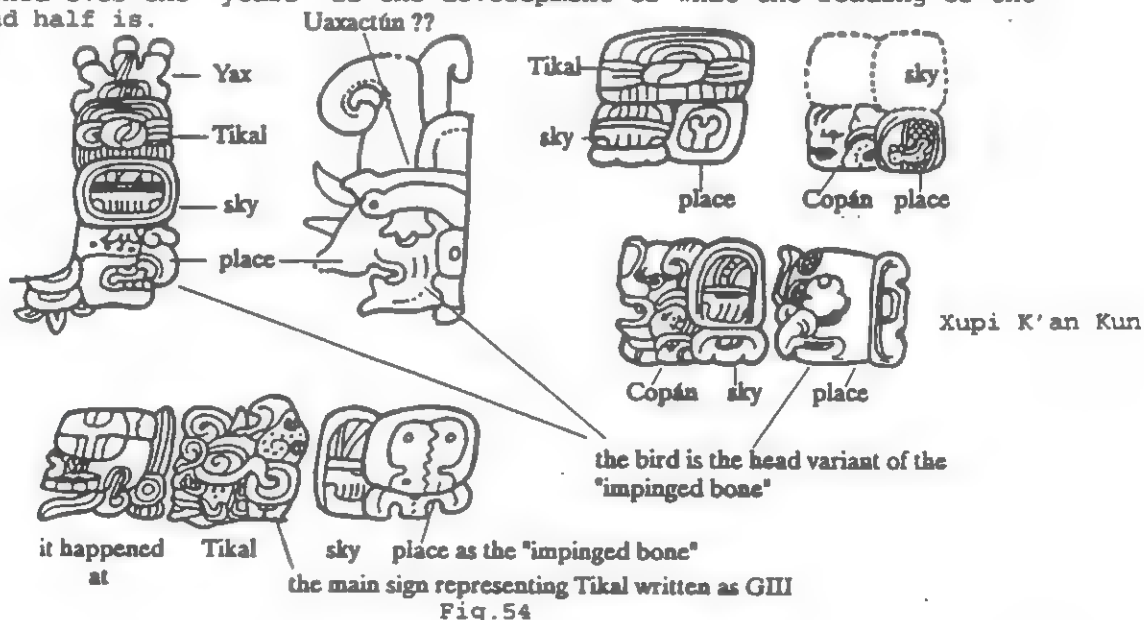
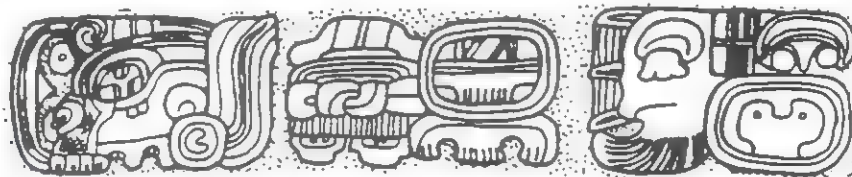


Fig. 54

The impinged bone can appear by itself, but very often you will find the impinged bone with a na suffix on it as it is here and here. There's also an Early Classic version of the impinged bone where we have the long bone turned straight up and down. Then there are other places where a bird with a tri-pointed shape in the eye appears as the replacement for the bone. Peter, while we were working on the Forest of Kings suggested that this bird might be an owl and the word for owl was ku. David Stuart had shown that this too was probably a syllable with a "k" plus a vowel from toponyms from Copan. Since then, we have tested this through the writing system and the ku value is a very good one. By putting together the ku and the na, Barbara MacLeod suggested that the reading of this is kun. Kun is a word that shows up in very rare terms of Chol, but basically kunil is a "platform for storing things." In Yukatek, kun means "seat": for example K'an Kun means "Sky Seat." We think then that this means "sky seat" or the place where the sky touches the earth in a sky seat. This whole sign reads Yax Mutul

K'an Kun. Here is the Copan K'an Kun or Xupi K'an Kun.

They can also write this in a slightly different way (Fig.55). Here we have Yax Mutul K'an U Kun or "at his seat." Barbara suggested that we just translate this as "seat" not meaning as a bench, but like when we say "the seat of government." That's the sense of it.



Yax Mutul K'an U Kun

Fig.55

Now there are other examples of this that show up at Caracol and Tikal where the kun precedes the toponym. It has in front of it the glyph which David and Nikolai have read as tan which means "in the center of" (Fig.56). In this example it looks as if we have tan kun ox witz ah so this is "in the center of the seat of this toponym." Here we have another one with the text written tan kun ox witz ah.



tan kun ox witz ah



tan kun ox witz ah

Fig.56

Now the important thing about this is that we have texts which state ch'akah u kun and it names a lord who either owns the kun or it names the toponym. What this means then is that someone attacked the "seat of government" and that seat can sometimes be simple core areas that are in the middle of the site. When your kun was attacked that would mean that they captured downtown.

THE UTI VERB

Now another thing that we want to talk about is this verb (Fig.57). This was again translated by Steve Houston and David Stuart. They found that this skull glyph with a chuen sign in it ends up being on jewelry as the word for "beads and a collar." Well the word for "collar" is u. The u sign in this case is combined with a ti sign to form the verb uti and it simply means "it happened at." So wherever you have this uti verb it just tells you that you have been given information about an action.. For instance, "he was seated" or "he threw down so and so" or "he captured so and so." Then at the end of the text it will say uti and it will give you a toponym. That's to tell you where the action occurred. Now this is really important because what they are doing is specifying where these battles or accessions are taking place because they do not always take place downtown in the centers. Sometimes they take place on the periphery or they want you to know what part of the polity they happened in or they want you to know that it didn't happen in the polity at all. They went someplace else to have a battle or to do something else. The basic form that you will get is uti followed by the toponym. In this case it probably happened at the Founder's place. This is K'an Te Na

K'an Kun so this happened at some building or area of the city that was called K'an Te Na. Some of them are houses. When the toponym is a house you will usually get yotot with a na stuck on the end of the glyph. This is a place called Wi Te Na which shows up at several places including at Rio Azul and then there are areas that can be named sometimes for deities.

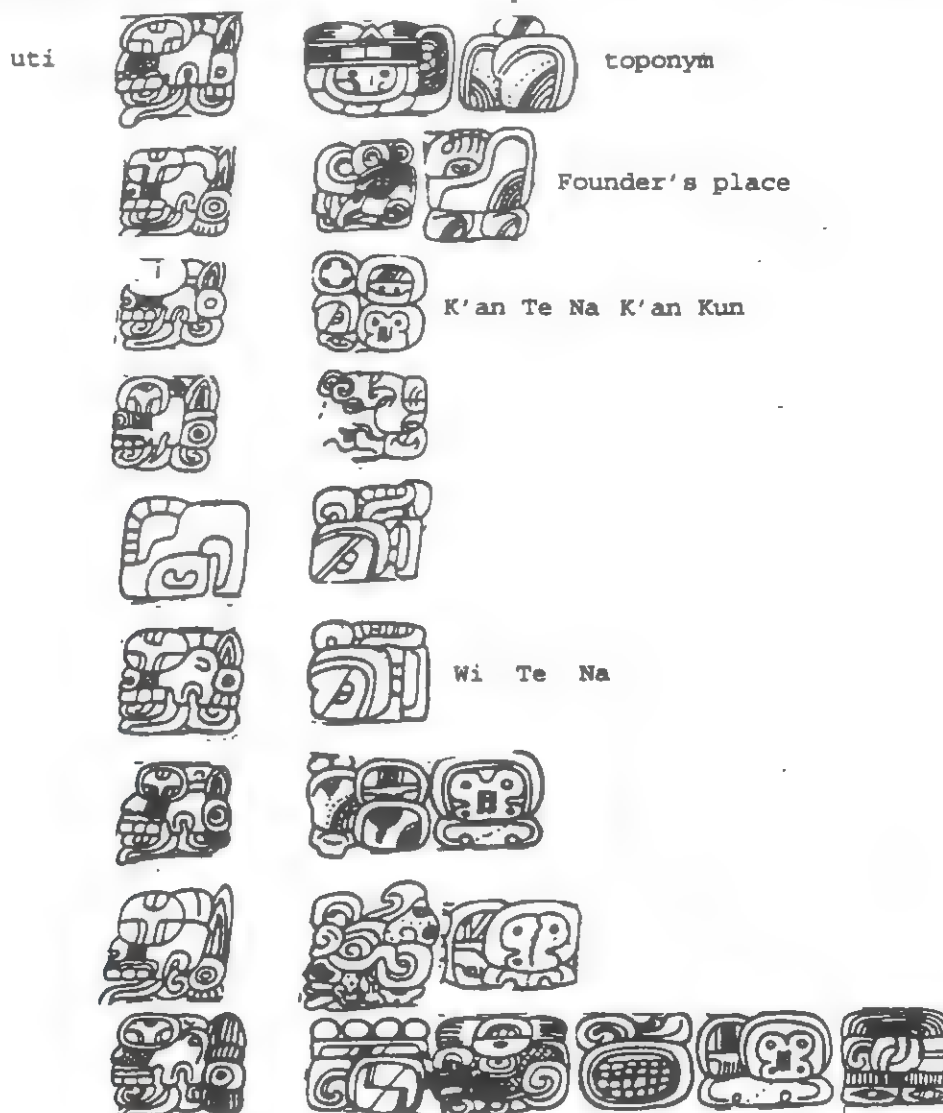


Fig.57

Basically these glyphs give you the primary information on where expressions of subordination take place. You may also get the main verb to make war, arrivals, downings, and very often they will tell us where these actions occurred.

(Nikolai) We could probably end this session before lunch with some information on emblem glyphs. Emblem glyphs are titles carried by kings which name the polity. Then there are toponyms which give us the names of certain places within these polities. Sometimes the names of places are the same as the name of the capital of a particular polity. So there is a kind of overlap between toponyms and the main signs of emblem glyphs.

A NOTE ON PALANQUINS

(Linda) Over the years there has been another development in which I think that the most recent and powerful players have been Simon Martin and Nikolai. Many of you watched the beginning of this happen in the Tikal conference here in 1990. When I put the drawing of the Marcador or the Ballcourt Marker from Tikal someone held up their hands and said that is a battle banner. Then two weeks after that conference I went to Philadelphia and I presented that we have these palanquins (covered litters) that are captured. Now what Simon and Nikolai have been working on recently is how these palanquins are talked about. What I want you to see is another aspect of Maya warfare. From the graffiti at Tikal it is easy to see that the Maya built these great structures (Fig.58) with huge protective figures on them. You can see the structure here with a small person seated on a throne and a great protector god stands over the back of the god. These creatures are the ways or the great supernatural beings who protect the city. It is also very clear now that the rulers and perhaps the main lords of the city went to battle in the palanquins and when they went to battle they also carried these huge war banners.

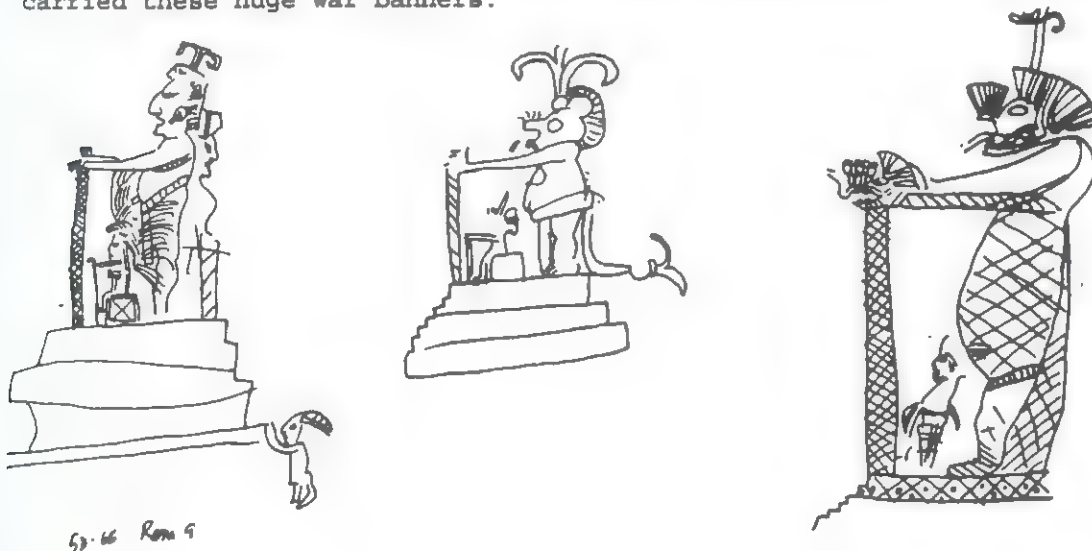
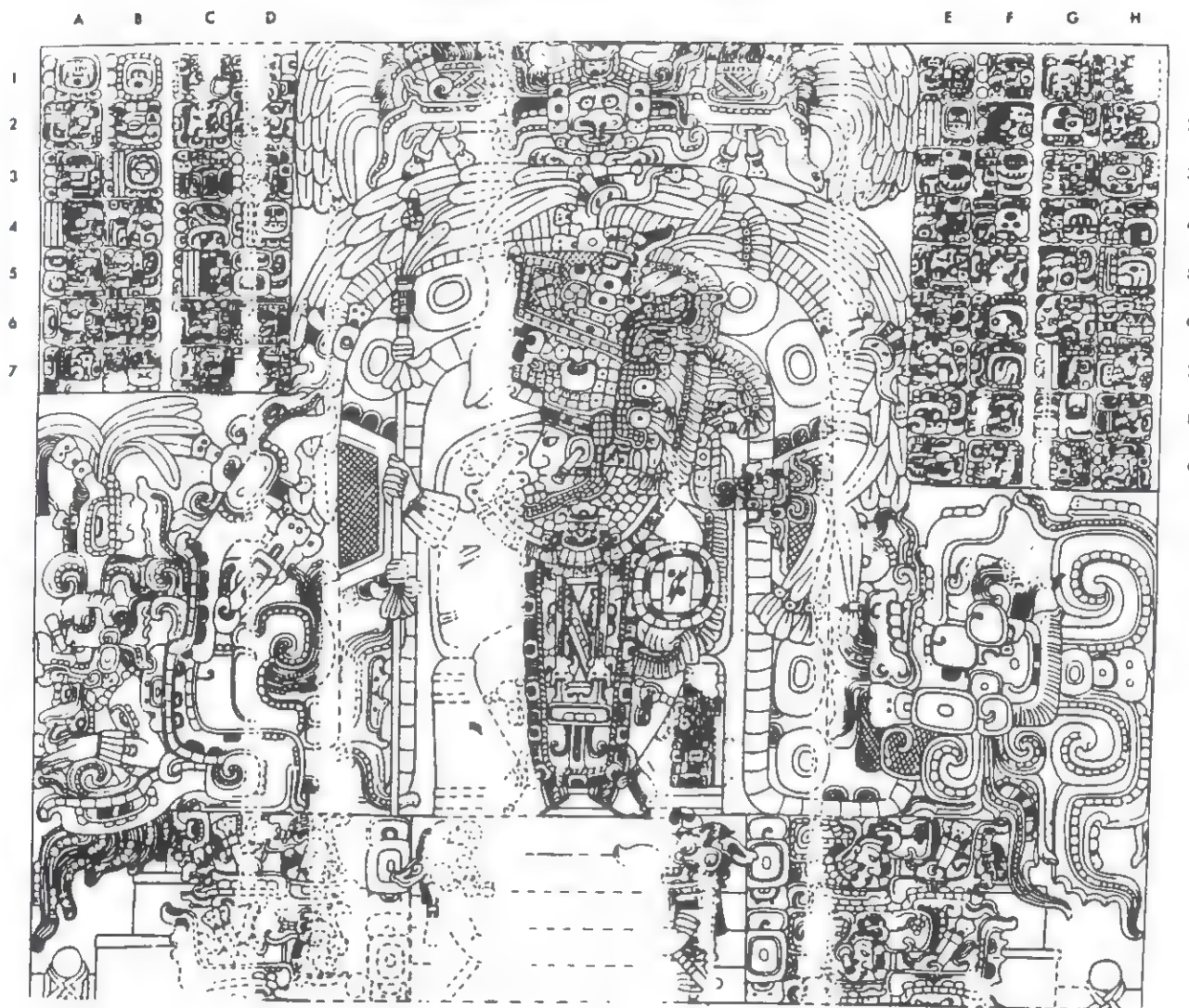


Fig.58

Remember, Rex Koontz's paper when he talked about these war banners for the Aztecs that we called the "things that see" and "the things that open into the otherworld?" These are great mirror and porthole banners that open up and let what David Freidel and I call the Great Battle Beast through from the otherworld. Warfare then for the Maya was economic. It did result in the capture of territory, but it was also a sacred battle between the divine patrons of the city and it's captured in this metaphorical and ideological framework. So when there is a battle between the human beings there is a battle between the great gods.

Here is Tikal Lintel 4 of Temple 3 (Fig.59). We have known for a very long time that if you look at this structure there are little platforms down at the bottom. There are place names here. There are little gods sitting on the bottom and here there is a gigantic snake that arches across the king who is seated on a little throne in the middle of the object.



Tikal Lintel 4 of Temple 3

Fig.59

This one is critical because if you look at the detail you will see the carrying poles at the bottom of the image. So you are looking at a king seated on one of these palanquins. Now I thought when I presented this stuff in Philadelphia I realized Dos Pilas captured a palanquin from Tikal, but I didn't realize that everyone of these palanquins being shown in these images from Tikal are captured from other sites. So these guys capture the palanquins and once they are captured, in later ceremonies the king is paraded around the city riding in the palanquins of their enemies because they are captured gods.

Here is a palanquin that was captured from Calakmul (Fig.60).
 Tikal Lintel 3 of Temple 1

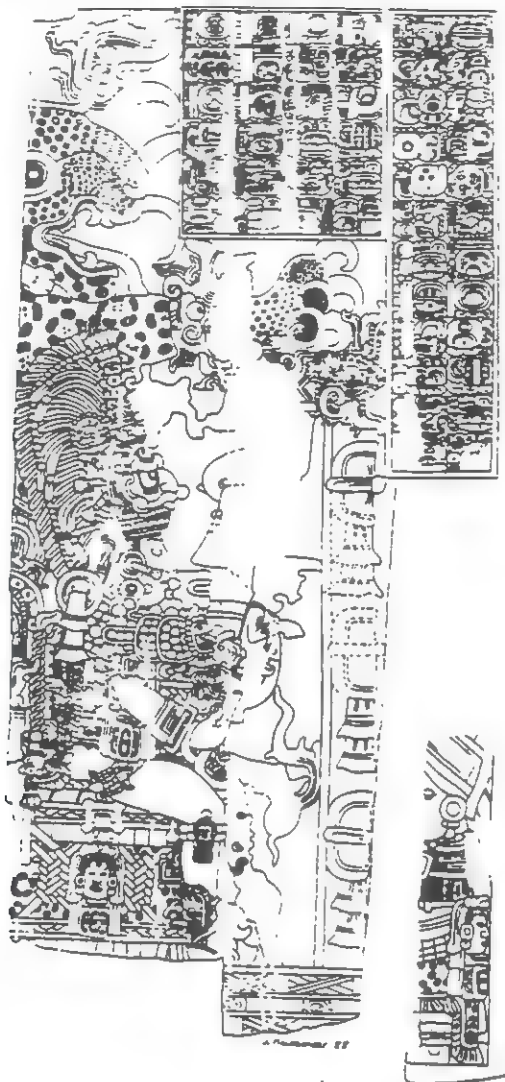


Fig.60

We have ones that were captured from Naranjo and El Peru. This one here is the Waxaklahun U Bah K'an (Fig.61). This is the one that everyone has been talking about being the foreign one from Teotihuacan. Well if that's the one from Teotihuacan, then that means Tikal conquered Teotihuacan during the time of Ruler A. This one is rather a palanquin captured probably from Calakmul or some other enemy that Tikal conquered.



Fig.61

The reason for saying this is that we are going to show you over and over again that people accede "in the company of" and then there will be a list of god names. It's these palanquins' patron figures. What they do is when they go into the city they either capture the palanquins and bring them home or they capture the tok' pakal or throw them down so they no longer have power or they throw down the patron god: that live inside the kun or "seats."

(Nikolai) This is an example where an accession takes place perhaps on a palanquin from Calakmul (Fig.62). This glyph here (B5) Simon and I believe is the name for the Calakmul palanquin. Remember this is from an accession text at Cancuen. This Cancuen king acceded under the auspices of a Calakmul lord. This glyph here is the Ho Kix Ku (A6) and this is Yax Ha (B6) Chak (A7). This then is one of those Great Protector deities that was probably on one of these palanquins. The palanquin was literally carried to Cancuen so that the vassal king could be enthroned on the throne of the Calakmul king.

Cancuen Panel

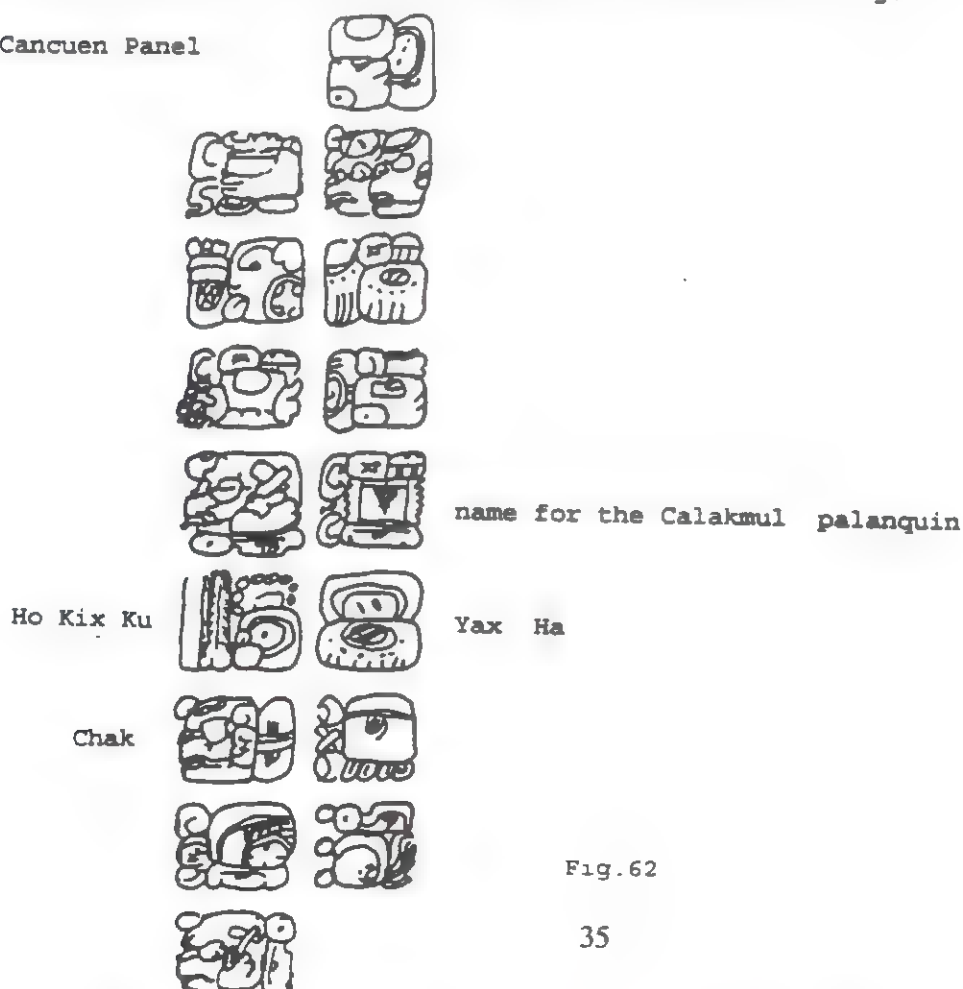


Fig.62

(Linda) The important thing here to understand is that sometimes you describe the conquest as the taking of individual people or the destruction or the breaking up of one of these kuns or it's talked about as they homi or "ended" the particular patron gods and what they are doing is protecting these things after. Probably what we have is the capture of the palanquin and the very next day they destroy the kun of the palanquin or its home. (Nikolai) At Palenque, when they went to war against Palenque the war is expressed as a "throwing down of the god of the Palenque Triad." This meant that they took the gods or statues of the gods and threw them from the temples of Palenque. (Linda) When we start looking at the Tikal/Waxaktun war what we are going to see is that they are destroying some of these palanquins and some of the buildings associated with them.

LUNCH BREAK
12:00-2:05 P.M.

EARLY CLASSIC REPRESENTATIONS OF WARFARE

(Linda) Let's start out with a little orientation of the area that we will be talking about today (Fig.63). Primarily we are going to be dealing as much as we can get to with the central Peten. The major players here were Calakmul and Tikal. The other sites like Yaxha, El Peru, Dos Pilas, and Caracol we will see quite a bit of. We will see one or two examples of warfare at Copan. We will see a little bit from Palenque and from Piedras Negras, Yaxchilan, and Bonampak as they relate to the alliances. By and large we are going to be dealing with the central Peten.



Fig.63

This is the Hauberg Stela (Fig.64) which is presently the earliest dated monument. We still are not exactly sure where this monument comes from. The date for this monument is 197 AD. I just want to point out that there is an emblem glyph on it which suggests that there is a polity functioning. Simon suggested that the same polity or toponym may occur in some of the Rio Azul stuff, but Nikolai and I are still a bit restrained to that. There's a name recorded here (A10-A11) followed by the emblem glyph at A12. The principle event that is being shown is Yax Ch'am which is the "first harvesting or the first blood-letting" (A7) of the holy life force in the person (A8). That occurred 52 days before the accession of this person into office. We are going to see some of these same events later expressed, but the principal reason for showing you this is to let you know that we are going to start at 378 AD because that is where our texts start getting complicated. The politics that we will talk about are probably more interesting and they go back to at least the end of the Late Pre-Classic. I was very surprised that they do not go earlier. It is just that we do not have textual records from that period.

Hauberg Stela

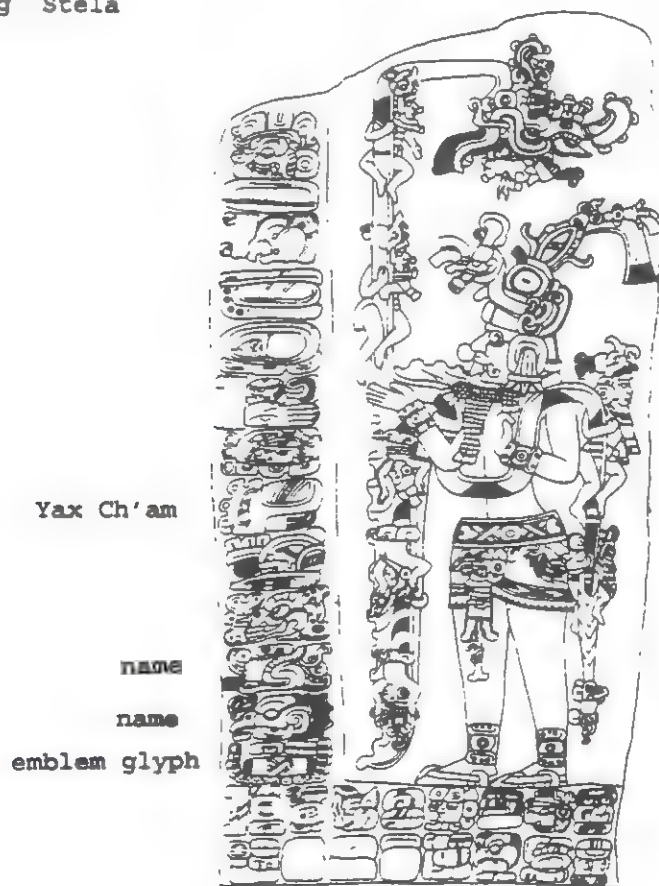


Fig.64

(Nikolai) Calakmul is a city that was founded by the Middle Pre-Classic and at the same time as El Mirador and Nakbe. These cities didn't exist all at the same time, but they witnessed growth and decline. The texts were maybe historically written which can not yet understand the Middle Pre-Classic warfare that certainly is not recorded.

(Linda) This is the San Diego Cliff drawing (Fig.65). We can not reconstruct the date because the Tzolk'in 260 calendar date should have been up here at the top of the inscription, but it is now missing. Here's the introductory glyph (A1-2). Here's the 365 day recorded here (A3). This is the Lord of the Night (A4). This is the event which is recorded U Bak Ch'am which means "to let blood or to harvest" (A5). The person's names continue down here (A6-A8) and the critical thing is located here (A9). This glyph records Yaxha Ahaw and we do not think that this is the famous Yaxha to the east of Tikal, but there is another Yaxha found to the west of Tikal and we think this is that Yaxha. This drawing is on a cliff to the west of Tikal from a place called San Diego. It is relatively close to a small lake and Yaxha means "Green Water or Blue Water."

San Diego Cliff drawing

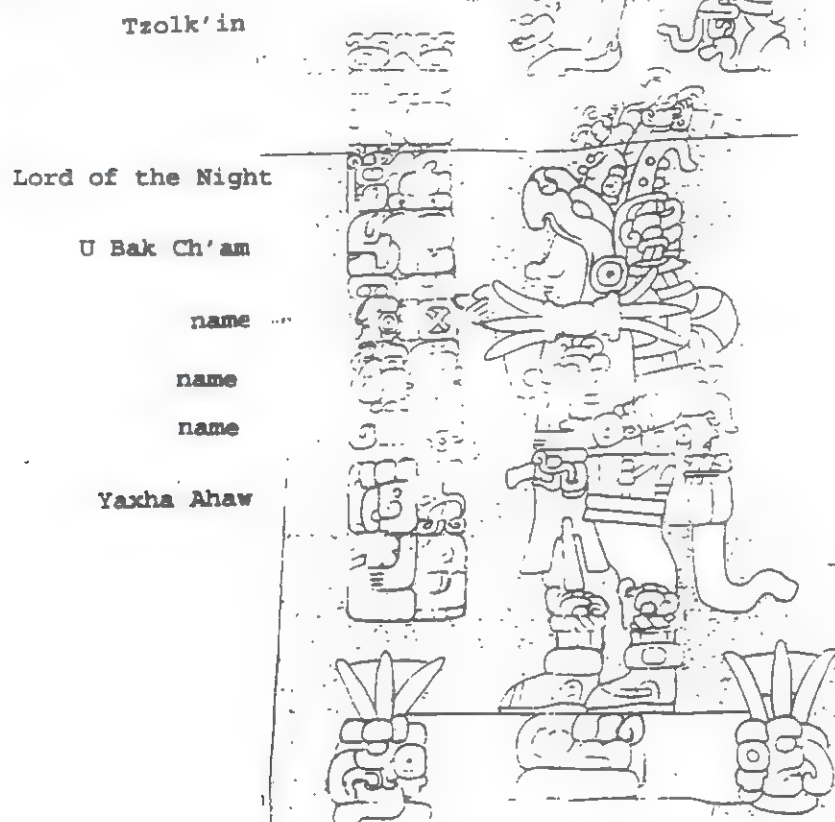


Fig. 65

THE EARLY CLASSIC TIKAL WARS (8.14.0.0.0 - 9.4.3.0.17)

We have a huge amount of material for the Tikal wars so what we are going to do is look at the critical material that we think you need to know to follow the story. So we are only going to highlight the points that are important. This again is a map of the area that we will be looking at (Fig.66). (Please note that since these texts are partially reproduced here my labeling of the texts are only to be followed in the context of these partial texts.)



FIG 12 Sites with Emblem Glyphs and their inferred positions, at 900 A.D. (A.D. 900).

Fig.66

The first text that we will look at comes from Tikal Stela 31. This passage is not dateable because the bottom of the stela is destroyed and not enough information remains to date it properly (Fig.67). Peter Mathews was the first person to identify that this was probably the name of a king (A1) and perhaps the same king recorded on Stela 29, the earliest dated monument at Tikal. Just to point out here, we have a title with this early king. I'll probably call this the Mah Chakte title. David Stuart has shown that variants are read Holumte (B1) which means "corner tree." This then is some kind of title that has to do with the king's association with these corner trees, but it is also the chief war title. We will see very early in Tikal's history the high king is called the king that ruled the unified kingdom, not just the local capital, and he was seated in the chakte-ship, not the ahawship. Beyond that we do not know much more about the title except that it was a war title and it's the emperor's title at Tikal.

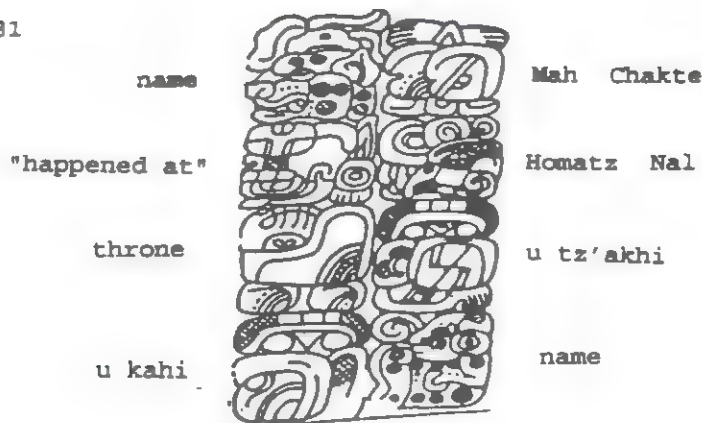


Fig.67

This title appears at many other sites by many other kings, so it's not an exclusive Tikal title and at other places it works as a means of hierarchy within the class of nobility. The choice of this title as the primary title at Tikal may have something to do with the history that we are going to see. One should also note that people at Tikal who are not the high king or emperor can also be a chakte. This is like the ahaw title again where more than one person in a city can hold this title. We then have information recorded to tell us that this event probably "happened at" (A2) a place that reads Homatz Nal (B2). Here is a throne glyph (A3) followed by a formulative statement that reads u tz'akhi (B3) "substitution, replacement or breaks in a stair" u kahi (A4) "by the action of" and this reclining jaguar glyph is the name of the god who tumbles into the earth in the baby jaguar scenes on pottery (B4). He is apparently one of the patron gods of the city, especially during this early period and this phrase tells us that this action happens because of the actions of one of the patron gods of the city.

Now we will go to the second phrase from Tikal Stela 31 (Fig.68) that gives us the earliest king that participates in the history that we are talking about (8.14.0.0.0). Here we have the date 7 Ahaw (A1) "it ended the tun" (B1) u hom wa "he completed the" (A2) 14th k'atun (B2) uti "it happened at a place called" (A3) Kun Nal (B3) u tz'akhi "he succeeded" (A4) u kahi "by the action of" (B4) Wak Chan "the Six Sky" (A5) Ahk "turtle" (B5) and his name is Jaguar Paw or Chak To Ich'ak (A6).

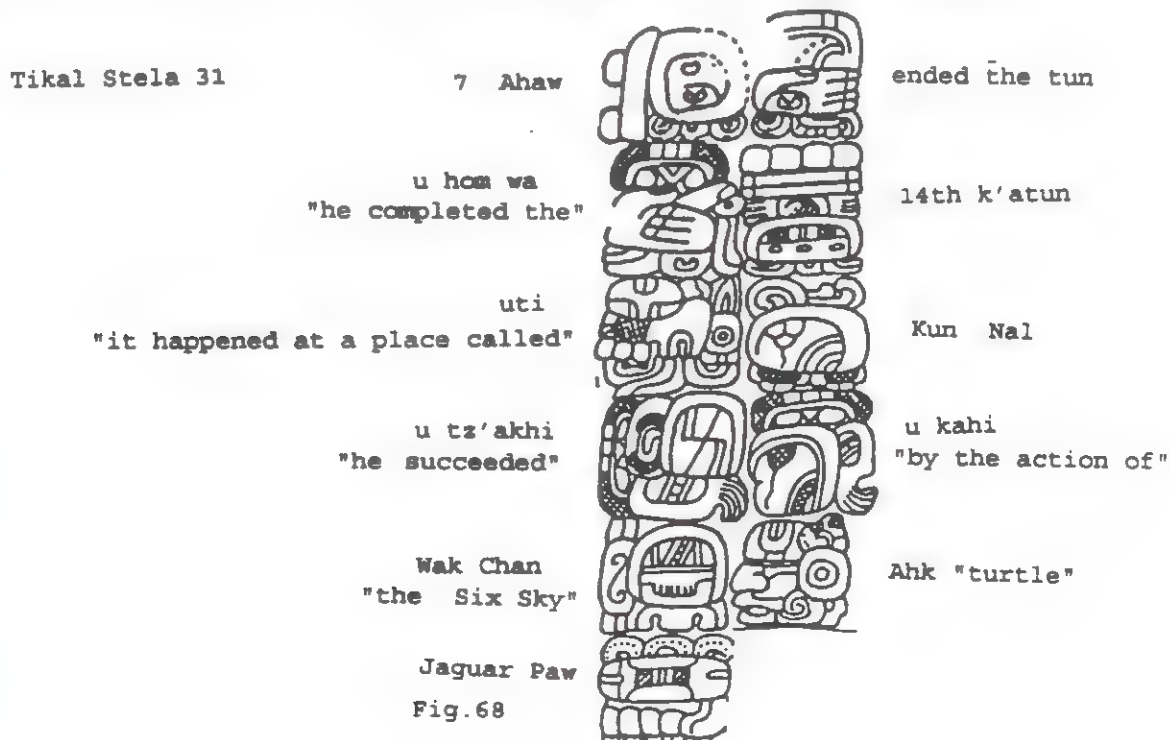


Fig.68

(Nikolai) To keep our chronological order we will now jump to Caracol on Ballcourt Marker 3 (Fig.69). The date here is 8.14.13.10.4 (Jan. 14, 331) and we have an event which we do not understand (B1). We will start here with u kahi "it was done by" (A2) u tz'ak "by the succession of" (B2) Te K'ab Chak (A3) and he is a K'ul K'an Tu Mak "He is a divine lord of Caracol" (B3). We do not exactly know who this person is. I have tentatively identified him as a person who was important for the establishing of the lineage at Caracol.

Caracol on Ballcourt Marker 3

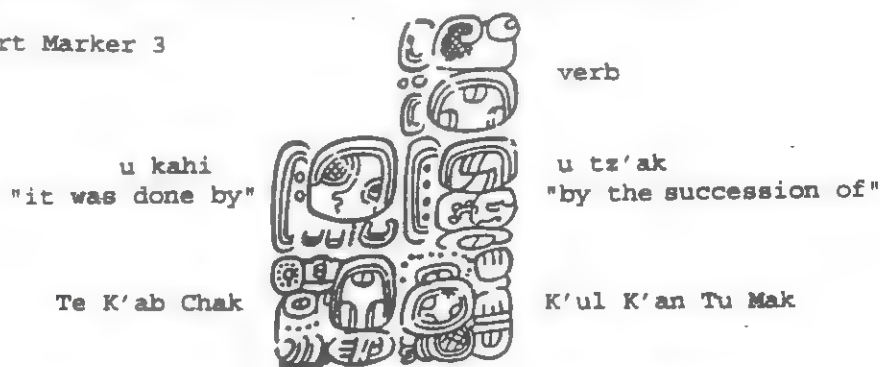


Fig.69

This person may be the same as this one mentioned here on Caracol Stela 22 (Fig.70). The hand sign for his name is a little bit different (A2). This text may refer to a conjuring event by which this person was conjured by Lord K'an II of Caracol or his name was phonetically pronounced Tum Ol K'inich, although the syntax is unusual.

Caracol Stela 22

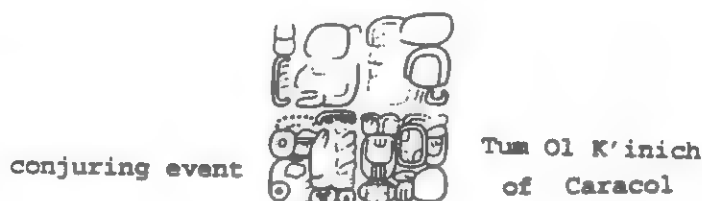


Fig.70

(Linda) The next event is one of the critical events for the entire series of history that we will be looking at. For me it's one of those kinds of events in history that ended up being so important that it sort of gave it a template by which a lot of the subsequent history unfolded itself in much the way that Julius Caesar became the template for European politics and Alexander became the template for Roman politics: in that sort of way. This is from the Marcador (Fig.71). The date is 8.16.17.9.0 (May 4, 374). These two glyphs read K'inich (A1) Ak'bal (B1) which is a couplet of "day" and "night" to let you know that you are in a point of change. Then we have the day 11 Ahaw (A2) followed by a distance number to give you the elapsed time between the 11 Ahaw event and one that we will talk about next. This is the verb hok' te (A3) ahaw (B3) or "he came out as Ahaw." The name of the person is recorded here at A4 and his name reads Ha Ma-something, possibly Ni Chak (B4). This is the toponym that he is from (A5) and he is a Chakte (B5) of that toponym. The final glyph tells us that he is the 4th Successor or Kan Tz'akah Ahaw and that means that he was the 4th Successor into this ahawship (A6). This is not the king of Tikal. This is instead, the ahaw that ruled the lineage that occupied the group where this marker was found (Group 6C-XVI).



Fig.71

What this text tells us is which subordinate lord was in charge of this lineage when the next major event occurred which is the war that we are going to look at. The important thing for our point here is that even during this time, from the inscriptions written in this area, we have this complex of subordination and lineage heads who are participating in these wars and are either gaining or losing prestige according to whether or not their overlords win or lose. They are spending material wealth to commemorate their victories in exactly the same way we do in our wars. I think if you go to any small town in the U.S. you will find a WWI and a WWII monument to the men in the town who died in those wars.

This is Tikal Stela 31 (Fig.72) and it dates to 8.17.0.0.0 (Oct.20, 376). This passage begins with the day 1 Ahaw (B1). The next glyph is not readable (A2). We then get u hom wa "it ended" (B2) 17 k'atuns (A3) and uti "it happened" (B3) at K'an Te Na K'an Kun (A4) which is the part of the city where this happened.

Tikal Stela 31

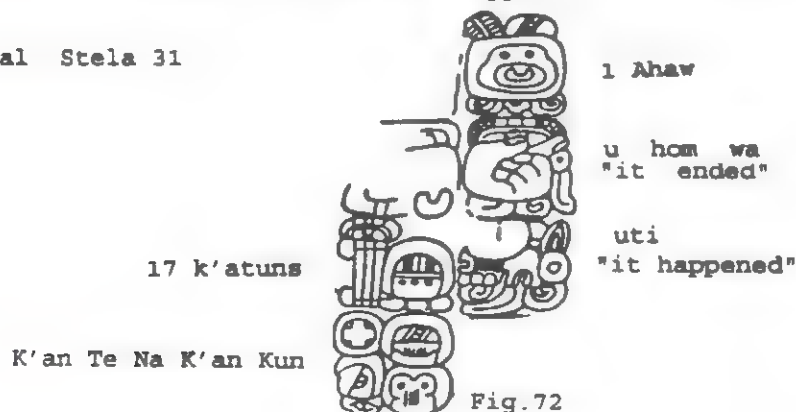


Fig.72

That sets up our base date to get to the next set of information. We now need to look at the Tikal Stela 31 again (Fig.73) which records the date 8.17.1.4.12 (Jan.15, 378). This is a distance number that leaps from the last date that we just looked at. It tells us that 12 days, 4

months (B1) and 1 year (A2) after the tun was set in place (B2) followed by a glyph that is still under debate (A3). It may act as a highlighter to indicate the beginning of the phrase. Here we have the day 11 Eb (B3). Here's the event (A4). It is recorded with the little hand with a finger sticking up in the air that Nikolai read as hul earlier, but there is one little difference here. Off of the hand is this little bauble and that changes the reading from hul to either tzutz or hom. Both of these words mean "to end, to finish, or to terminate." Hom can also mean "to tear down vaults" as a destructive event in the city. Then we have a small hand with a shell sign and a nal sign over it. I think this is a location and I'll show you why we think that in a minute. This is an ok glyph with a te sign in the center and this is a tzi (B4) for the reading Oktzi. The next glyph is written as a water sign over another ok head with a ha sign after it (A5). Then we have the glyph for west over a k'in sign with a small ak'bal mirror behind it (B5). These three glyphs (B4,A5,B5) we will come back to. Following this we have the name of the actor Smoking Frog or either Sih K'ak or K'ak Sih "Fire Born or Born of Fire" (A6) and he is called the chakte (B6).

Tikal Stela 31

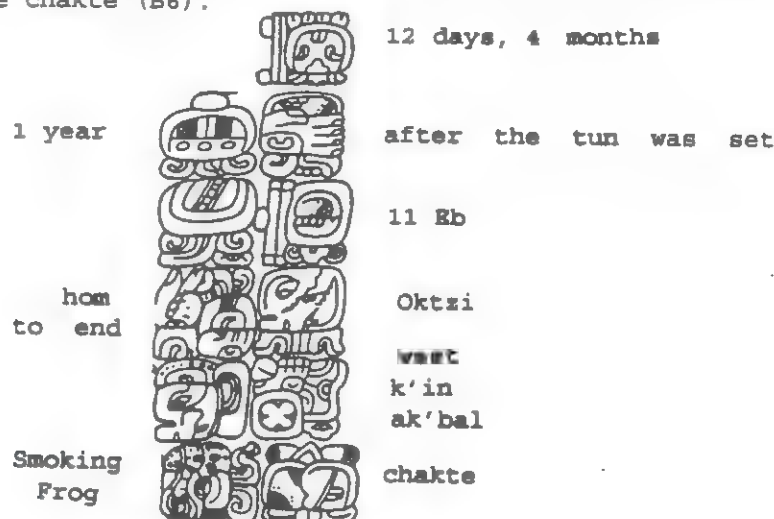


Fig.73

Now for us one of the important comparisons is here, if we remember the picture of the palanquin I showed you of Tikal Lintel 3 with the huge snake going across the top of it. The day after that palanquin was taken, on the same lintel, is this text (Fig.74). This is the day that this event happened (B1 A2). We do not know how to read the event because the whole middle part of the glyph is lost (B2), but we do have a glyph recorded here as ut tzat "wise person" (A3). Then we have Ti Ku Ok Tzi (B3) and it is exactly the same Ok Tzi sign that we had on Stela 31. Following that we have homi and then the name of the palanquin recorded here at A4 B5. Ok is the word for "foundation or base" so we think that when they capture the palanquin before they took it home they broke its base or foundation. What we are proposing to you is that these glyphs here on Stela 31 (B4-B5) are the names of the patron god or the palanquin that was captured in this war. The palanquin then was named Oktzi.

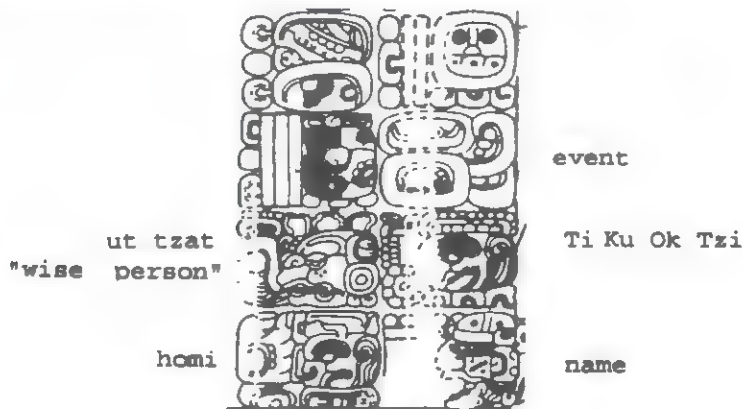


Fig.74

(Nikolai) With the ti suffix on the ok it shows me that ok is an intransitive verb and in one of the few instances in Chol has a different suffix which is a different form when they turn these verbs into transitive verbs. So this may be in fact that reflected form which would mean "to put something in" instead of "to enter."

Back on Tikal Stela 31 at A4 of Fig.73 this complex after the hom sign is a yi shell over the hand with a nal sign. This turns out to be associated with the ballgame (Fig.75). At least one example can be found at Yaxchilan on Hieroglyphic Stairway 3 that records this same grouping of signs. I am not so sure if that is a place name, but the interesting thing here is that here it records that "it happened at" and then we have our hom hand with a ho sign in front and a ma phonetic complement after it. I think that this is good evidence that the hand reading is hom. (Linda) Hom in this context can be the word for the cleft on the back of the turtle and the mouth. That's the word for the cleft. It is also a verb that means "to bring down vaults" and David has got archaeological evidence that this is exactly what has happened at Yaxuna and we know it happened at Becan. We have a lot of other evidence from the archaeological record that one of the things they do when they conquered these places, especially the residence, is that they just pulled out the center capstone and collapsed the vaults down to fill up the corridor with rubble. When they do that it creates a cleft.

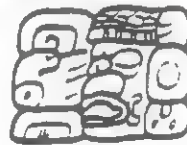


THE YI-NAND

Often used with the numerical value '100'



9AL TFC



226 ST.C

dead to something a moment



No. 104



Time of the 13 glyphs



248



The 103



248

Only one



104



With the glyph could enter in the name of the person a reference to his personality or some the best 'in the past' (advised)



The 103



104



104

Fig. 75

Now we have this same event recorded in another place. This is the next phrase that follows on Tikal Stela 31 (Fig. 76). Now originally we have been working on this inscription for a long time. Peter first suggested that this first main sign was a portrait of an individual in a bloodletting posture (A1). Then David Stuart said that there was no evidence that this really was bloodletting. Federico then looked at this and realized that there was a ya and hi sign here. He looked up yah in the dictionary and found that it meant "to wound yourself in some part of your body." We thought then that we had pretty good evidence for what was going on here. We did not know what this glyph was, but in the meantime David Stuart has shown that the upper glyph as seen over the top of the west glyph and here (B1) reads och which means "to enter." It is clear now that this glyph reads och ha and it is a metaphor for death saying "he entered the water." This glyph tells us that on this same day, on the day we call the battle, Chak To Ich'ak died (A2).

Tikal Stela 31

yah
to wound
yourself



Chak To
Ich'ak

och ha
he entered the water

Fig. 76

Then last summer we went back and looked up yah and what yah means, "to suffer." So what we think is that Chak To Ich'ak got wounded and then he died from his wounds. If he was the ruler at 8.14.0.0.0 at minimum he would have acceded when he was 1 day old; he would have been 60 years old at this point. So we can presume that he was probably in his mid-70's and getting wounded in your mid-70's is not good. It looks then that the king died on the day of the battle.

Then on the Marcador (Fig. 77) we have another version of the event. This event is repeated many many times. Here is the day 8 (B1). This has to be 17, although we don't know how the number is working (A2) followed by 1 (B2). 4 (A3). 12 (B3) or 8.17.1.4.12. Here is the Lord of the Night (A4). Here is 11 Eb (B4). This should be 15 Mak instead of 10 Mak (A5). Here is the age of the moon (B5). This is the verb (B7) with an old man's head with three little points in his eyes. It appears to have a hu out in front of it. We do not know how to pronounce this verb, but this is the verb of the little effigy that we found in Burial 10 at Tikal. However you read this it has to do with a sacrificial death. Here's our fellow's name (A9) K'ak Sih or Smoking Frog. He is the chakte (B9) and this next glyph is probably a toponym for the area of Tikal that he comes from (A10). He is the Mutul K'an

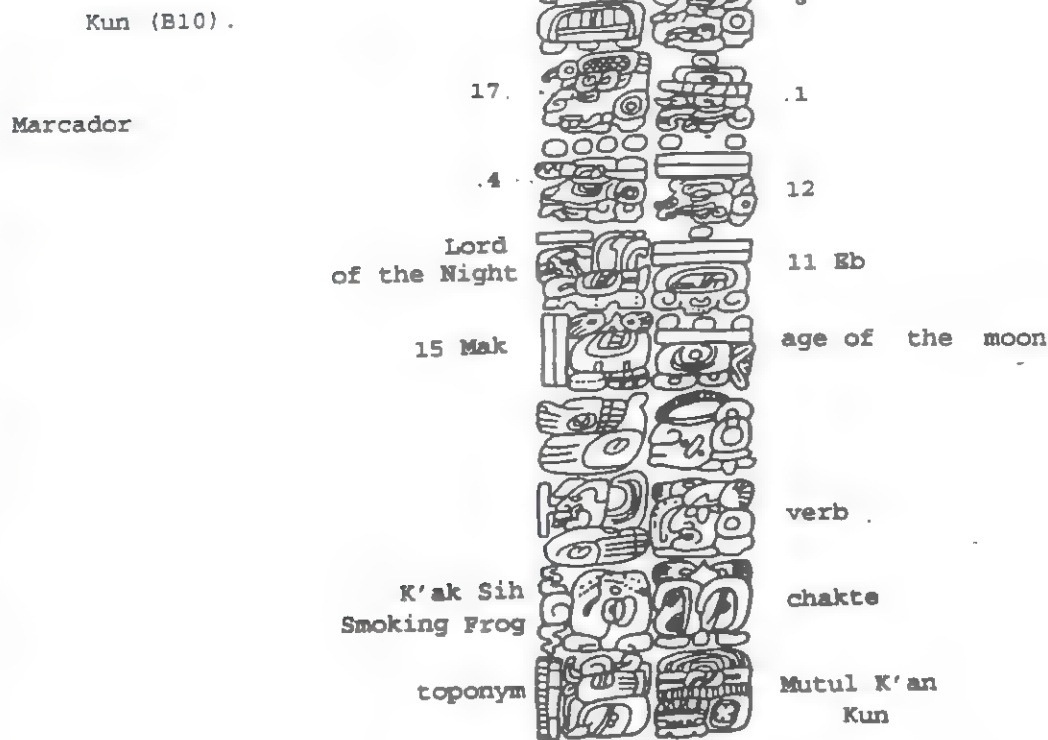


Fig.77

Then we have a third repetition of the event (Fig.79) from the Marcador. Here is the night and day contrast again (A1) to tell you that you are changing the sentence. We have the same verb repeated (B1) and now we are given a toponym (A2). It's recorded as a ku over a shell for kuyi. The second part of the sign could be the sky sign and this last part is clearly kun. The next glyph is yitah (B2) which is a relationship of companionship, which is held by very highly placed lords and the king. Brothers of the king can be members of this relationship. Younger brothers and older brothers can be yitah of the king, but the king can apparently be the yitah of gods. We do not know exactly what to do with the next glyph for the actor here, but David Freidel and I suggested that this is a title of Jaguar Paw as warrior. What we have here is an atlatl and this goes with the Kuy War Owl (A3). We have very good evidence now that this is the bird, that has long been called the Muan Owl from the Dresden Codex, that was called Oxlahun Tan Kuy. Kuy is the word for "owl, soldier, and warfare." This is probably just a metaphor for war and the atlatl is based upon the Teotihuacan metaphor. It is certainly a metaphor for this kind of conquest or Venus associated battle.

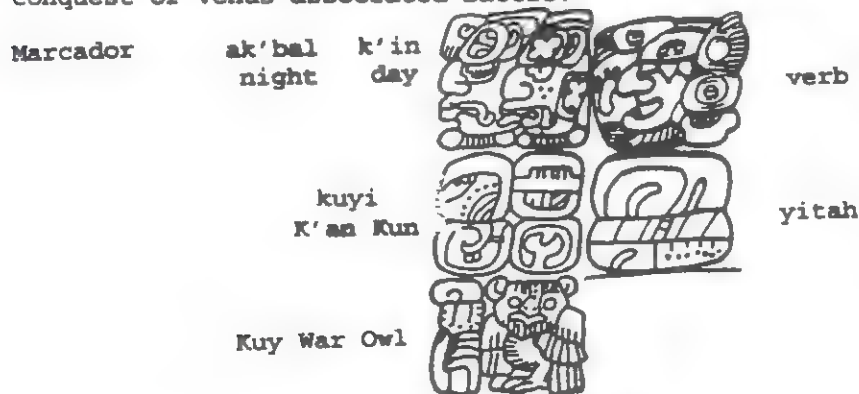


Fig.79

The possibilities here are that this actor, who must be Smoking Frog is either the companion of war or he is the companion of the person who

holds the war title who would be in fact the dead Jaguar Paw. We can not say which one it is at this time.

This next phrase comes from the work of Federico Fahsen (Fig.80). We continue with the Marcador and a restatement of the verb (B1). We have a shell-in-hand glyph which we do not know how to pronounce yet, but notice that there is a little ba sign in there. Then the next glyph has a hand that has an imix sign with a ma sign on the top. There is some evidence that this could be replaced by an Ah Nab glyph which may mean "to conquer." We are going to show you that lords of this title are people who conquer other sites. If you were to take that glyph and put an ahaw glyph with it, it becomes a title for people who are conquerors. The next glyph, reads K'ak Sih (B2) the actor of this event. The next two glyphs I'm not too sure what to do with (A3-B3). This glyph reads och kun (A4). The little rattlesnake tail is the och and the owl is the kun, so we have "he entered the seat." The seat here is this shell (B4). This is the Waxaktun place name (A5) and here is god (B5), so he entered this place of the Waxaktun god and the god is recorded as the west (A6) Waxaklahun U Bah Kan (B6) or the West War Serpent. This means that he entered the place of the Waxaktun god in the west War Serpent. Federico, when he and Juan Antonio were working on the burials of Structure A-V, realized it had the very shells all over the top of the roofcomb. These are the stucco shells laid inside the building to protect them by the Carnegie Institution. So the very building that houses the god, who is known as Waxaklahun U Bah Kan that housed the War Serpent of Waxaktun was entered by Smoking Frog. This is the taking of those gods.

Marcador

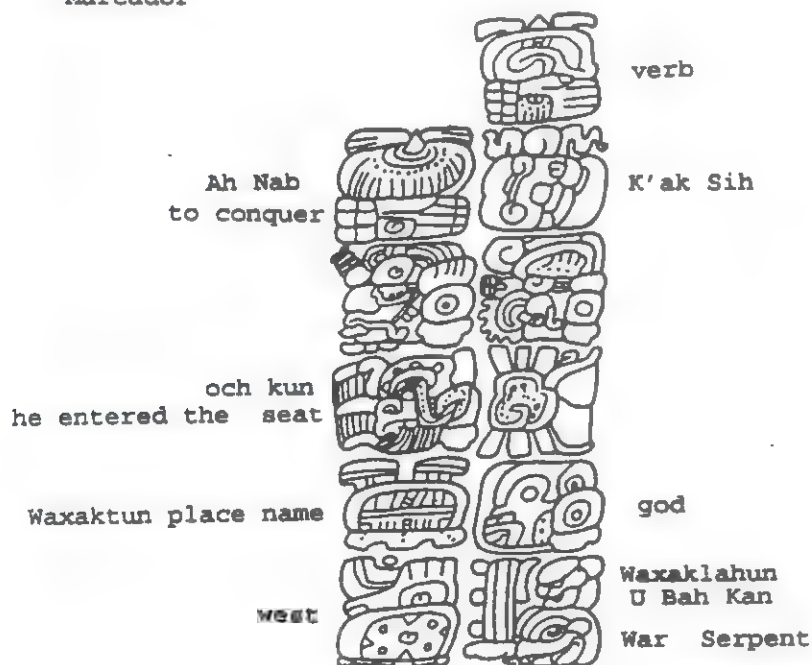


Fig.80



Structure A-V

This is the version of the event at Waxaktun (Fig.81). This stela was put out in front of Structure B-VIII. Structure B-VIII was the structure that contained the burial with the pregnant woman and the two children in it. There is debate over how the archaeology works. The Carnegie Institution said that it was single-phased construction during the construction of that tomb. Juan Pedro Laportes' excavations shows that there were two phases and what happened is that the grave was intruded through the previously existing temple and then the temple was completely resurfaced and the stela was then put in front of the rebuilt building. I think no matter which way the archaeology works I still go with the idea that Maricela Ayala first presented, that this

is the tomb with the dead wives and children of the Waxaktun king. The image shows Smoking Frog holding a war axe, carrying a bag, and holding an atlatl. He has a giant balloon headdress of Venus/Tlaloc warfare. we had hoped that this was an owl, but instead it seems to be a fire macaw with long tails and this records the place where he is sitting. Here is the kun sign and that's all I can see on this monument. The introductory glyph would have been there (A1). This was the Long Count coming all the way down here (A1-A7). Here is the 15 mak (B7). The verb would have been in here (A8-B8) and this is the name Smoking Frog (A9) followed by Mutul (B9). This is Smoking Frog of Mutul and I think that probably the first glyph up here would have been the ahaw. This is the Waxaktun version of this same event and I still believe that this was the conquest of Waxaktun by Tikal.

Waxaktun Stela 5

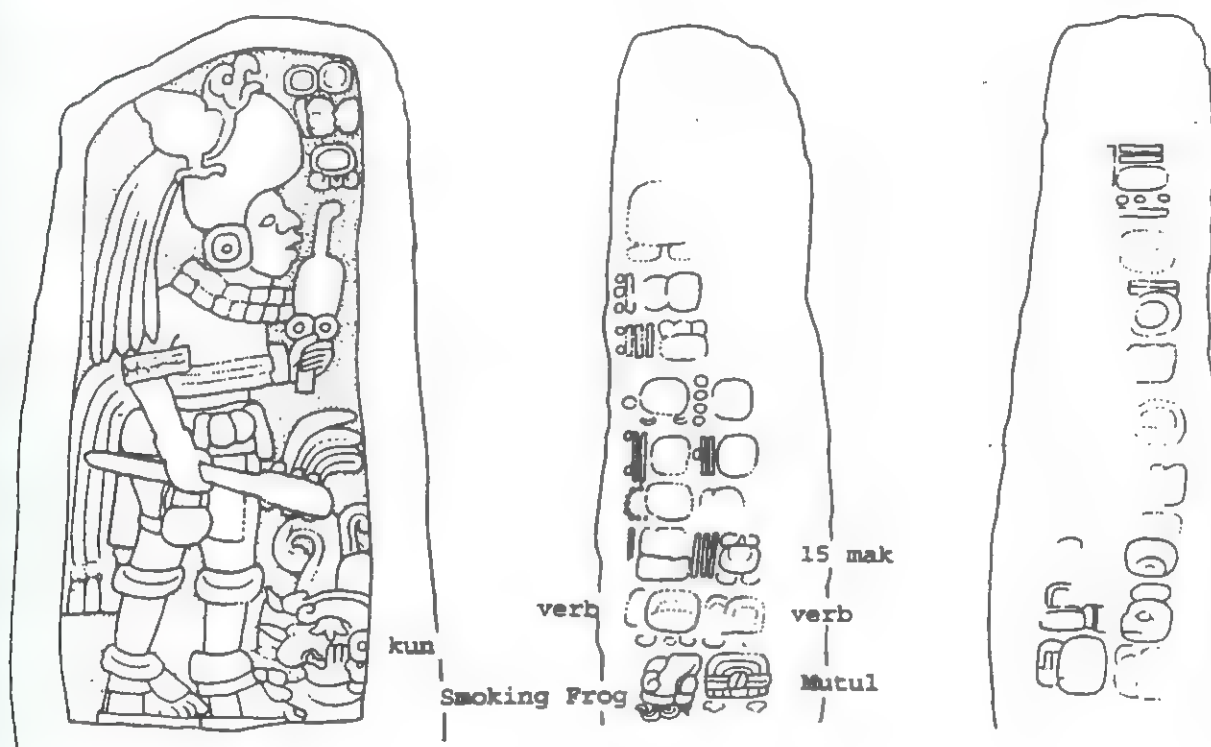


Fig.81

(Nikolai) This is a small text on a bone from Burial 116 (Fig.82) and the date is 8.17.2.3.16 (Dec.25, 378). This glyph here is the name of the current king Yax Ain (A5) and he is K'ul Mutul Ahaw (A6). The event is recorded as Ok (A3) and the ok that he "enters" is described by the following glyph as the lineage founder's glyph (A4). This event then is an heir designation.

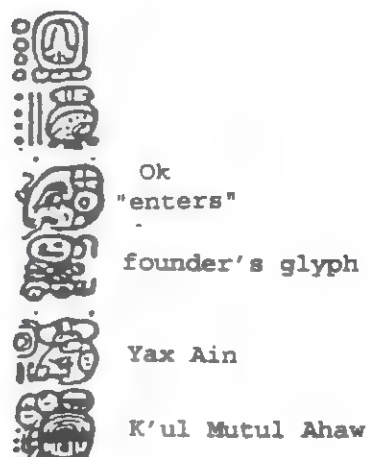


Fig.82

We then have two inscriptions that refer to the same event (Tikal Stela 4 and Tikal Stela 31). We will start with Stela 31 (Fig.83). Here is Yax-Ain's name (B4). This passage begins with a date recorded here at B1-B2 followed by Glyph F (A3). In this case it has a ti ahaw recorded with Glyph F, so "he is appearing as a king." This is a name (B3) followed by some kind of title (A4). The next verb is recorded at A5 as u ch'am wa as part of his accession phrase. This means that "he is taking" and the next glyph probably describes the object (B5 A6) that he is receiving as an insignia of his royal power. The text then continues with u kahi "by the action of" (B6) Smoking Frog (A7) uti "it happened at" (B7) a place called the Wi Te Na (A8). This then is an accession by the doing of Smoking Frog at this place.

Tikal Stela 31

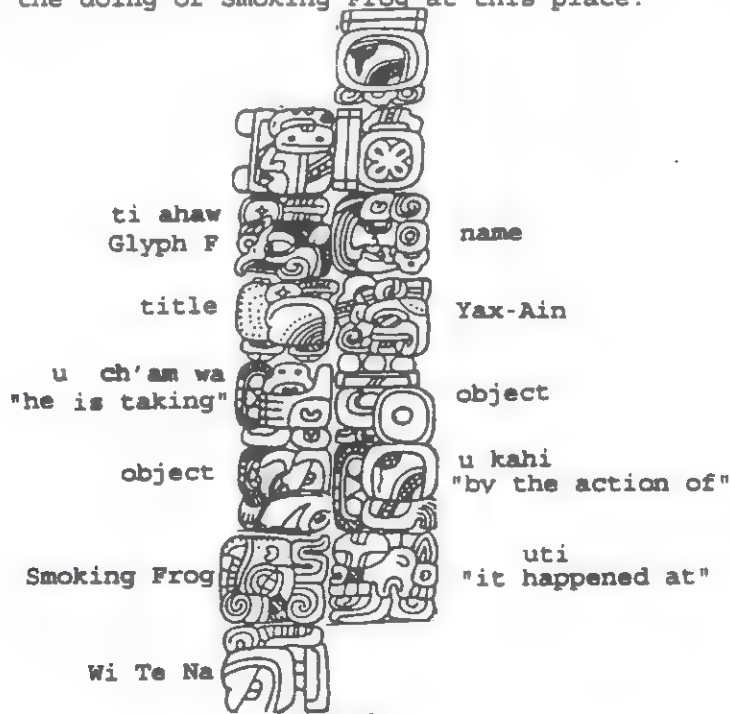


Fig.83

Now let's move onto Tikal Stela 4 (Fig.84). The same verb is used here that we saw on Stela 31 recorded at A4 as ok' ah with the ahaw written here (B4). This is the name of Yax-Ain (C4) our king. This is a title that many Tikal kings carry throughout the Late Classic Period recorded here at A5. The next glyph is very interesting because it contains ya ahaw wa (B5) so he is the yahaw of the makuch (C5) and here is Smoking Frog's name (A6).

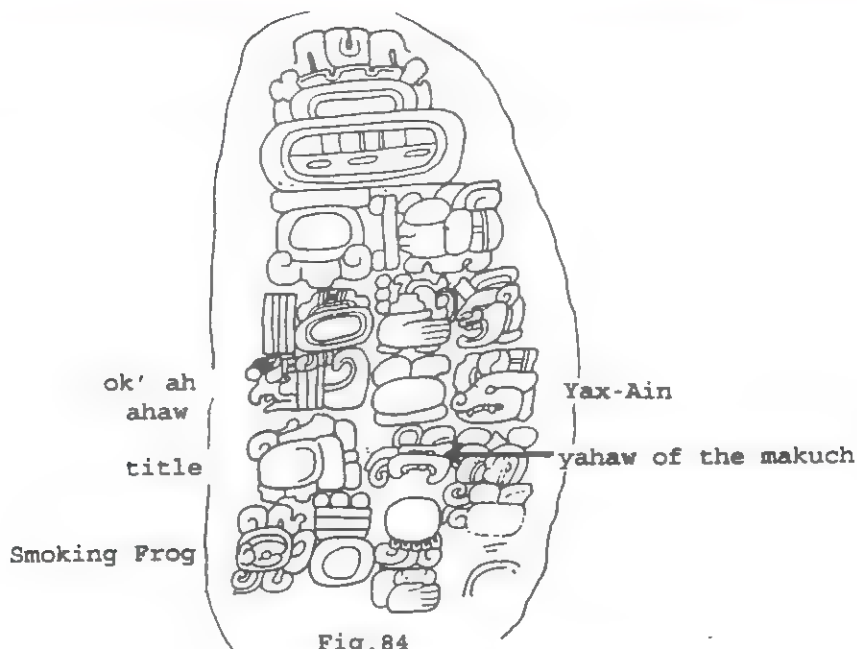


Fig.84

(Linda) Now the important thing here, as Peter pointed out long ago, is that every where in his early life that Yax-Ain is talked about, even during his accession, he acknowledges his subordination to K'ak Sih or Smoking Frog. Smoking Frog is the overlord here and he is the conqueror of Waxaktun.

(Nikolai) We are going to jump again to a different location. This time to Bejucal which is a small unexcavated site in the northern Peten about 15 kilometers north of Motul de San Jose. It is also a Classic site on the north shore of Lake Peten Itza. Motul de San Jose seems to use an emblem glyph which as its main sign is the ik glyph. Apparently Bejucal was an Early Classic precursor of the Motul de San Jose polity because of the use of the same emblem glyph. This text records the date 8.17.17.0.0 (July 23, 393) (Fig.85) recorded here at A1-B3. The day was 10 Ahaw (A4) followed by lunar information here at B4-A5 with the day 8 Tzek (B5). I'm not sure what this glyph is (second half of B5), but the following glyph is tzapah u lakam te (A6) "was erected was the stela." Then we have u bah "he goes." Then we have the name of the king of the Ik site or Bejucal and the emblem glyph with a title (B6). We have a distance number here (A7) and this is clearly the Tikal emblem glyph (A8). Then we have yahaw chakte (B7) followed by the smoke glyph now broken in B8. The only person at that time known to us who carries the chakte title and has a smoke superfix is K'ak Sih or Smoking Frog. So this is possible that Smoking Frog is referred to in this text. Linda and I took this evidence that the king of the Ik site was vassal lord of Tikal, but we had some technical problems here. This at least forms a context between Motul de San Jose and Bejucal and Tikal in the Early Classic.

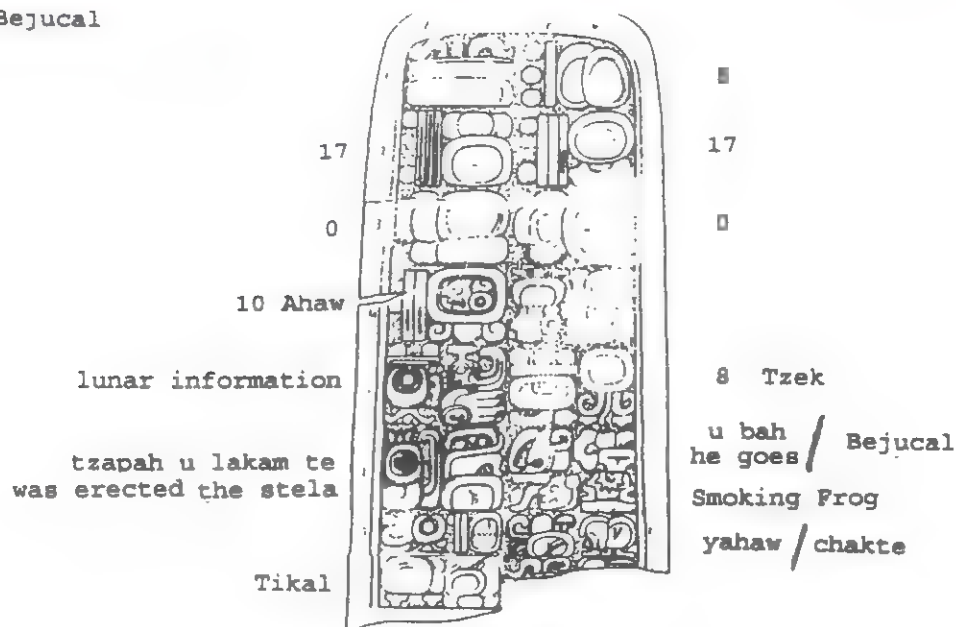


Fig. 85

(Linda) Now the next event that we have is recorded on Tikal Stela 31 (Fig. 86) and that dates to 8.17.18.17.2 (June 25, 395). The text begins with a distance number of a little more than 17 years (B1-A2), recorded as 17 tuns, 12 uinals, and 10 k'ins or 17 tuns, 10 winals, and 12 k'ins. Since we do not have a day following this we can't tell which alternative it is supposed to be. We do have written here a glyph which will repeat later that we believe is read kuyte (B2) and it is a reference or another way of referring to that Waxaktun war. That is because this distance number counts from that event and since we have iwal "and then" here, this should be another way of referring to that war and kuy is the owl and also a word to describe the soldiers. This again is a little snake tail and this is a mountain glyph (A3). Apparently he is "entering a mountain" uti "it happened at" (B3) this place (A4) followed by this verb that is read pakah which means "to form or make, especially houses and structures" (B4). The last glyph broken as it is still shows signs that we can use to make a reading. The sign has what I call grape signs on it and this particular version of it with a ba under it may or may not be a kind of offering box or incensario (B5). We think what happened here is that very probably either they are making some sort of offering or maybe they have completed Jaguar Paw's tomb and they are doing dedication rites that will involve taking his bones into the mountain, but that is only my guess and I can not prove that.

Tikal Stela 31

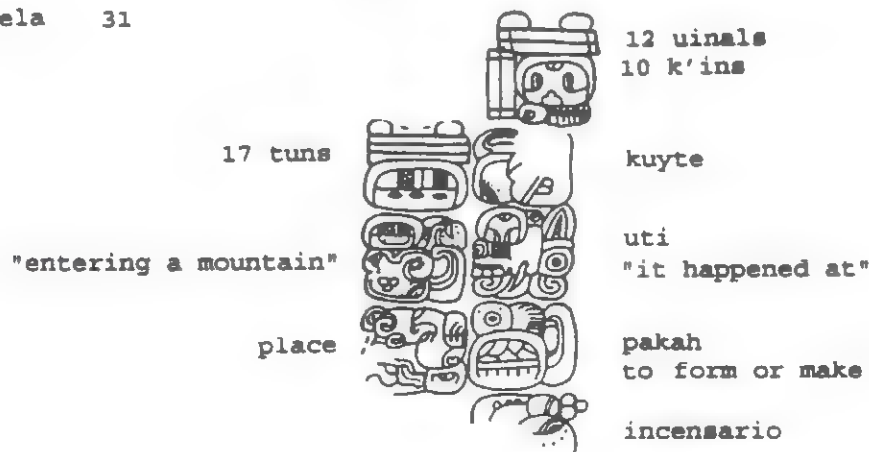


Fig. 86

It is interesting to note that at this time there is some sort of large construction done at Tikal about 17 years after the battle and this construction was large enough and important enough that at least one generation of kings later refers back to this as an important political event for this part of history.

Then we have two more Period Endings named. These Period Endings are important because of the subordination that we are told about them. This is Tikal Stela 18 (8.18.0.0.0 (July 7, 396). It shows the king seated on a throne wearing a typical Maya costume, but holding one of the Teotihuacan tasseled headdresses on his lap. He is also holding a full-figured jaguar in his arm. This is his chin-strap facing forward so his face would have been looking straight at you. We can not tell what is going on here because everything is destroyed, but if you look here at the last two glyphs you can see an yahaw and the name K'ak Sih or Smoking Frog. Whoever it is that is doing this action is the vassal lord of Smoking Frog. This tells us that it was probably Yax-Ain who was ruling at this time and was conducting a Period Ending at Tikal. He acknowledges his subordination to Smoking Frog.

Tikal Stela 18

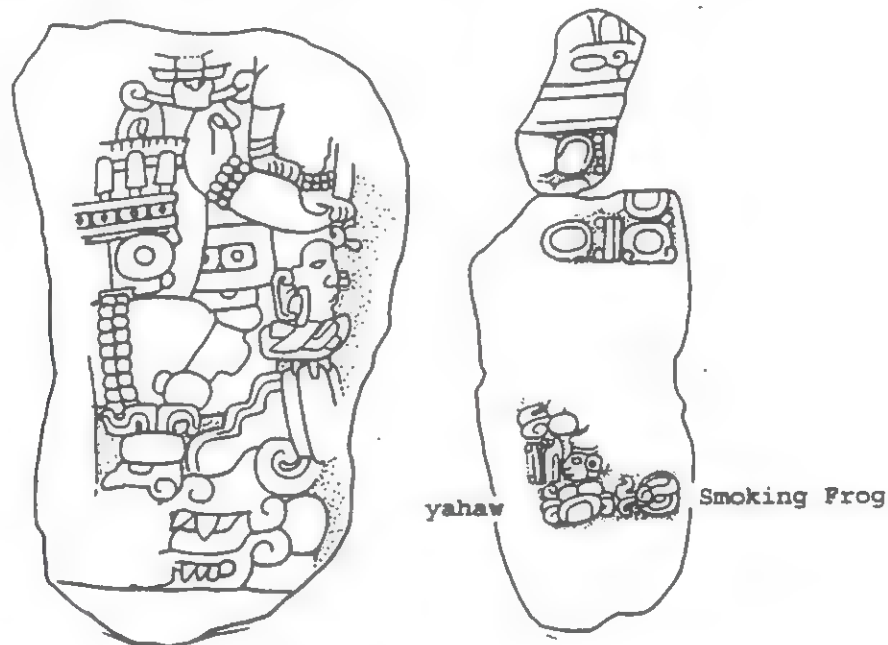


Fig.87

Now Smoking Frog erected his own monument at Waxaktun. Apparently Smoking Frog remained in residence at Waxaktun. This is Waxaktun Stela 4 (Fig.88). The text reads all the way across and the date recorded up here (A1-B3) is 8.18.0.0.0. The verb would have been in this eroded area. Here are some names (A4-C4). This is Smoking Frog's name (A5-B5) here followed by chan here (C5) and the man introducer glyph (D5) chakte (A6). The next glyph (B6) we do not know how to read, but notice the next glyph (C6). Recorded here is a na sign, a ko sign, and a half head sign. That glyph is recorded on the front of Waxaktun Stela 5, the one that I showed you with the balloon headdress holding the club. This we think is the smoking gun to show the person that is on Waxaktun Stela 4 is clearly Smoking Frog. In addition this glyph (C4) appears in the name in the Waxaktun Mural talks records history in the years immediately following the Peten conquest. This glyph here in the mural (A7) appears to be the same glyph.

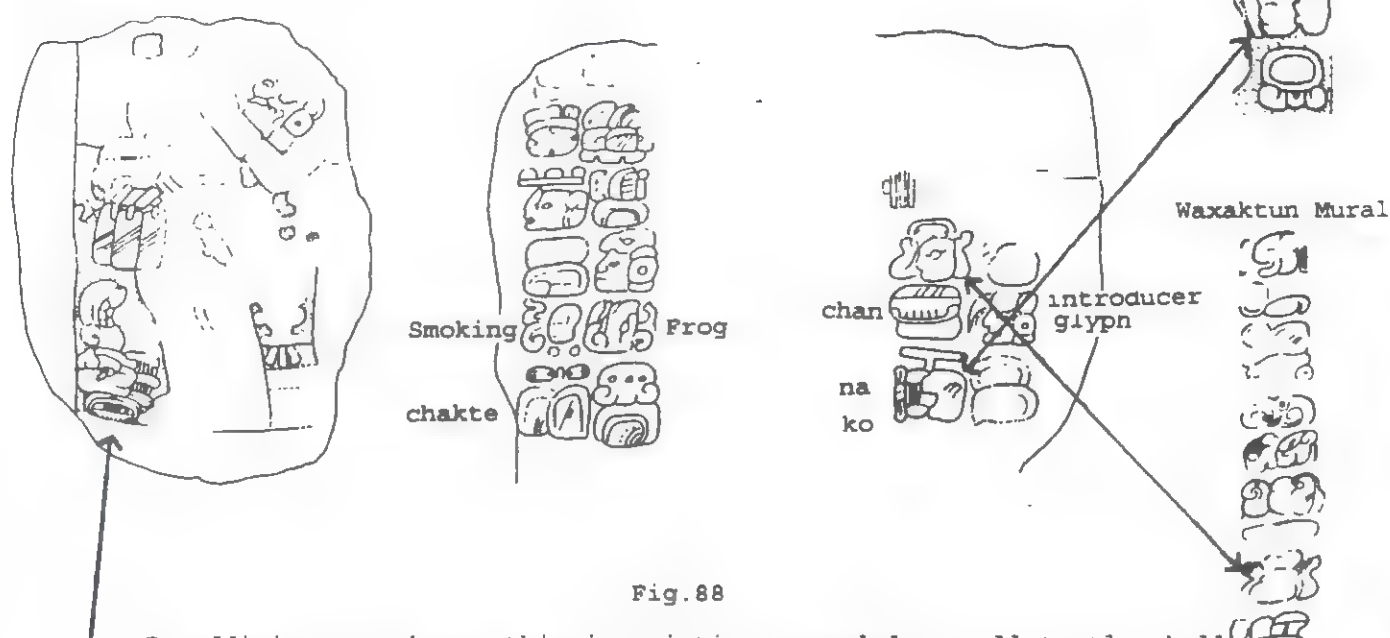


Fig. 88

In addition we have this inscription recorded a small turtle shell (Fig. 89) making this person whose name is Wayus (A2) the yahaw te (A3) the e te (B3) who is the "child of" (A4). Notice the next glyph contains a small creature with an arrow pointing at the eye. That is the same as this jaguar toponym on the front of Waxaktun Stela 4 (B4). So basically, what we begin to pick up in looted and in context is a whole lot of little pieces of material culture from the tombs of this time that refer to these people in these tombs. The important thing about this is that it shows Smoking Frog is reigning at Waxaktun and he is probably the main overlord.

turtle shell

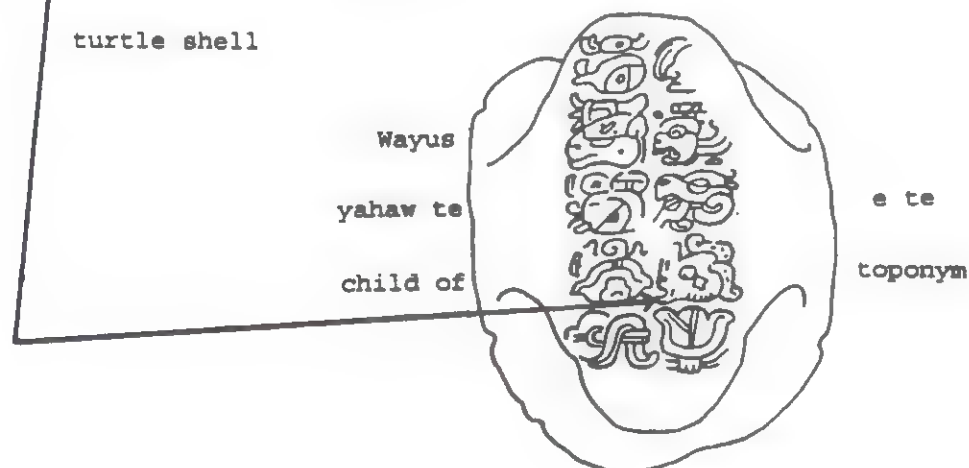


Fig. 89

The next event that we get is back on Tikal Stela 31 (Fig. 90) which dates to 8.18.6.6.17 (Oct. 21, 402). It begins with another distance number of 1 k'atun (A2), 5 tuns, 2 winals, and 5 k'ins (B1) and here's the ku yu te or kuy te (B2). This is the way they are telling you to count from the war. This is 25 years after the war. We then get iwal "and then" followed by the death head for kimi (A3). This next glyph we are not sure of, but Nikolai thinks it might be hain (B3). The verb is here (A4) and it is the u tz'aki glyph "he succeeded in" and then there is a name made up of the birth frog over the sky glyph followed by k'inich (B4). The only thing that even resembles this in the names

Tikal Stela 31

1 k'atun

iwai kimi
"and then"
death

u tz'aki
he succeeded
in

5 k'ins
2 winala
5 tuns

kuy te

hain

Yax-Ain

k' inich

Yax-Ain

Yax-Ain

sky sign.

Now the next event occurs on 8.18.15.11.0 (Nov.26, 411). This is Tikal Stela 31 (Fig.91) and it occurs 5 tuns (B1), 11 winal, and 0 k'in (A1) after 8.18.15.0.0. This part of the text is in that eroded area of the monument, but what it appears to have here is the ahaw event that can be done as a nominal verb (B2). We think that at this time someone became an ahaw. "It happened at" uti (A3) this place (B3) which is one of the patron gods of Tikal K'an Kun (A4) or at the "seat of this god." This was an incredible day astronomically.

Tikal Stela 31

0 k'ins
11 winals

5 tuna

ahaw

uti

"It happened at"

place

Tikal K'an Kun

Fig. 91

54

the ahaw. We think that this is what is going on in this passage.

Now about two years after that is 8.18.17.14.9 (Jan.23, 414) (Fig.92) as recorded on the Marcador on the day 12 Muluk (B1) 12 K'ank'in (A2) tz'apah "was set erect in the ground". (A4) followed by the proper names of the battle banner (B4-A5). The second of those two glyphs is the atlatl surrounded by a ma sign which means that however you pronounce the word for atlatl it either ended or began with ma and here's the kuy owl (B5). So that battle banner is one of these atlatl kuy owls.

Marcador



Fig.92

This next passage on the Marcador (Fig.93) begins with u ya (A1). The next glyph shows the platform that this banner was raised on and this is the banner above it (B1). This is ahaw next to that. This guy is the lord of the battle banner. This is tzak (A2) and clearly here we have u kahi (B2) followed by the name introducer glyph (A3). This is a fox or ch'amak (B3). He is the ahaw te (A4) of K'ak Sih (B4). He now has this title (A5) and he has the Tikal seat (B5) followed by the local toponym (A6) where the battle banner was erected. Then we are told that the Waxaklahun U Bah (B6) K'an (A7) was called up (B7) probably by GI (A8). The last thing that we can see right here (B9) is the name of the object. It is shown with a hand holding an atlatl and this is the shield on the side of Tikal Stela 31. The guys on the sides of Stela 31 are shown holding the atlatl shields in their hands. These are real objects.










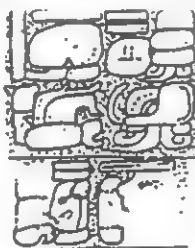
u ya		platform / ahaw
tzak		u kahi
name introducer glyph		ch'amak fox
ahaw te		K'ak Sih
title		Tikal seat
toponym		Waxaklahun U Bah
K'an		was called up
by GI		
		NAME

Fig.93

(Nikolai) We will now continue with texts from El Zapote. El Zapote is a site that lies between Tikal and the present-day Belize border. This is El Zapote Stela 1 (8.18.19.15.4 Jan.28, 416) (Fig.94). I can't remember what the first verb was. (Linda) The chronology is difficult. We have an erection of a stela (A2) and this is probably the same title that appears with Smoking Frog's name on Stela 5 (B2).

El Zapote Stela 1

erection of a stela



title

Fig.94

The problem next is that the distance numbers that were in here are broken (El Zapote Stela 1) (Fig.95) so the only way that you can figure out what is going on here is to look back to this point of the text. Here we probably have the recording of the lakam tun glyph (B6) as a restatement of the first event. This means since we have this same event recorded here we can subtract this distance number here to get back to whatever date was up at the top part of the text. We can't get a precise day, but the vicinity of the day is 8.19.1.11.9 (Nov.3, 417 ??). The problem too is that all of the verbs are missing in the upper part of the monument. (Nikolai) This may be an u kah glyph here (A4) "by the doing of" and this may have been a name (B5). Then we have this glyph here (A6) which is a shield as the main sign with an owl or a atlatl over the top. This is the same kuy or warrior title that we

see at Tikal. (Linda) We can't prove it, but this looks like the point where Tikal takes over El Zapote. (Nikolai) We had no war event recorded here or it's missing, but I think it may refer to a Tikal El Zapote war. (Linda) This could be because the stela is so badly eroded. However, look at the front of the monument (Fig.96). This is the chak god that David Freidel was talking about being one of the major war related gods of the Maya. Here's his bowl. Here's his diadem, and here's the head of Chak.

El Zapote Stela 1

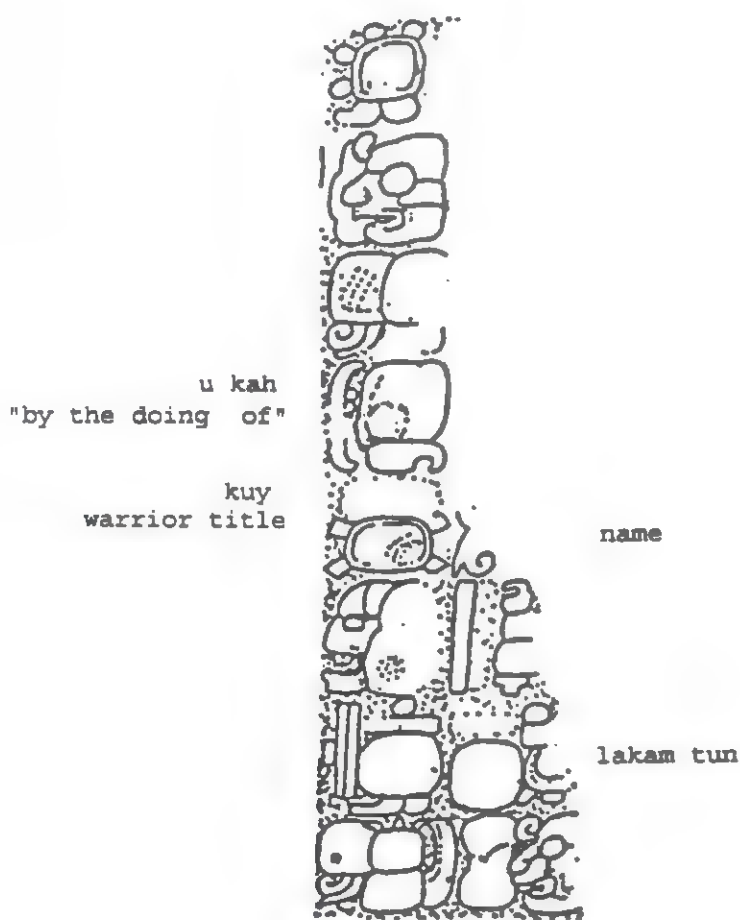


Fig. 95

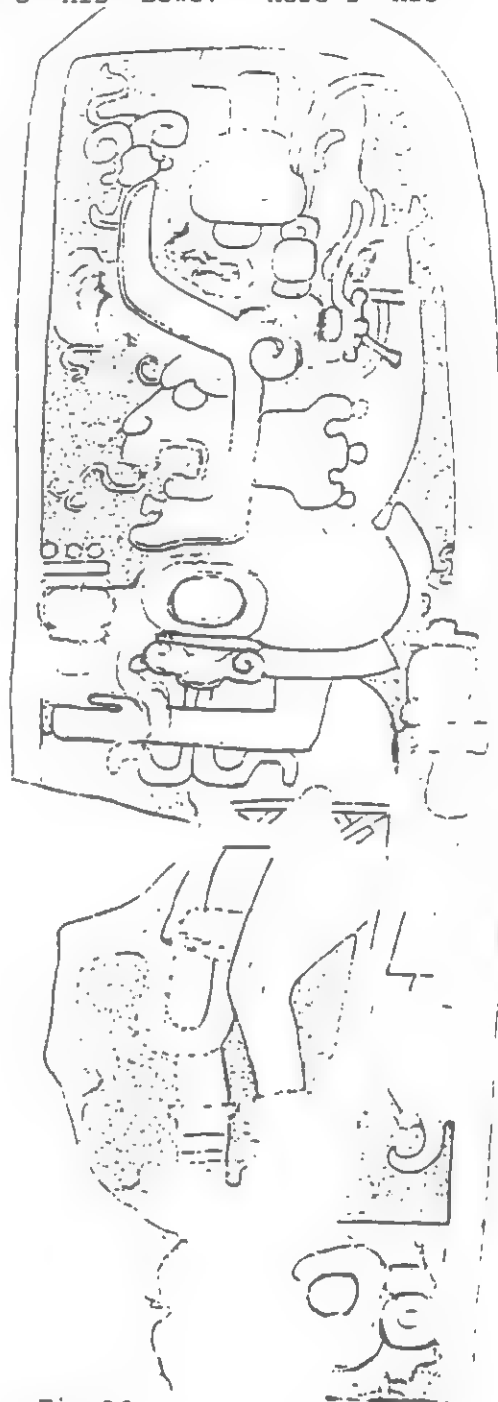


Fig. 96

But more importantly, El Zapote Stela 3, which is almost contemporary has a location recorded here and it's the Tikal emblem glyph (Fig.97). So all of a sudden, after this event that had the atlatl shield or the atlatl owl associated with it, the place names on all of the El Zapote monuments begin reflecting the Mutul or Tikal hegemony.

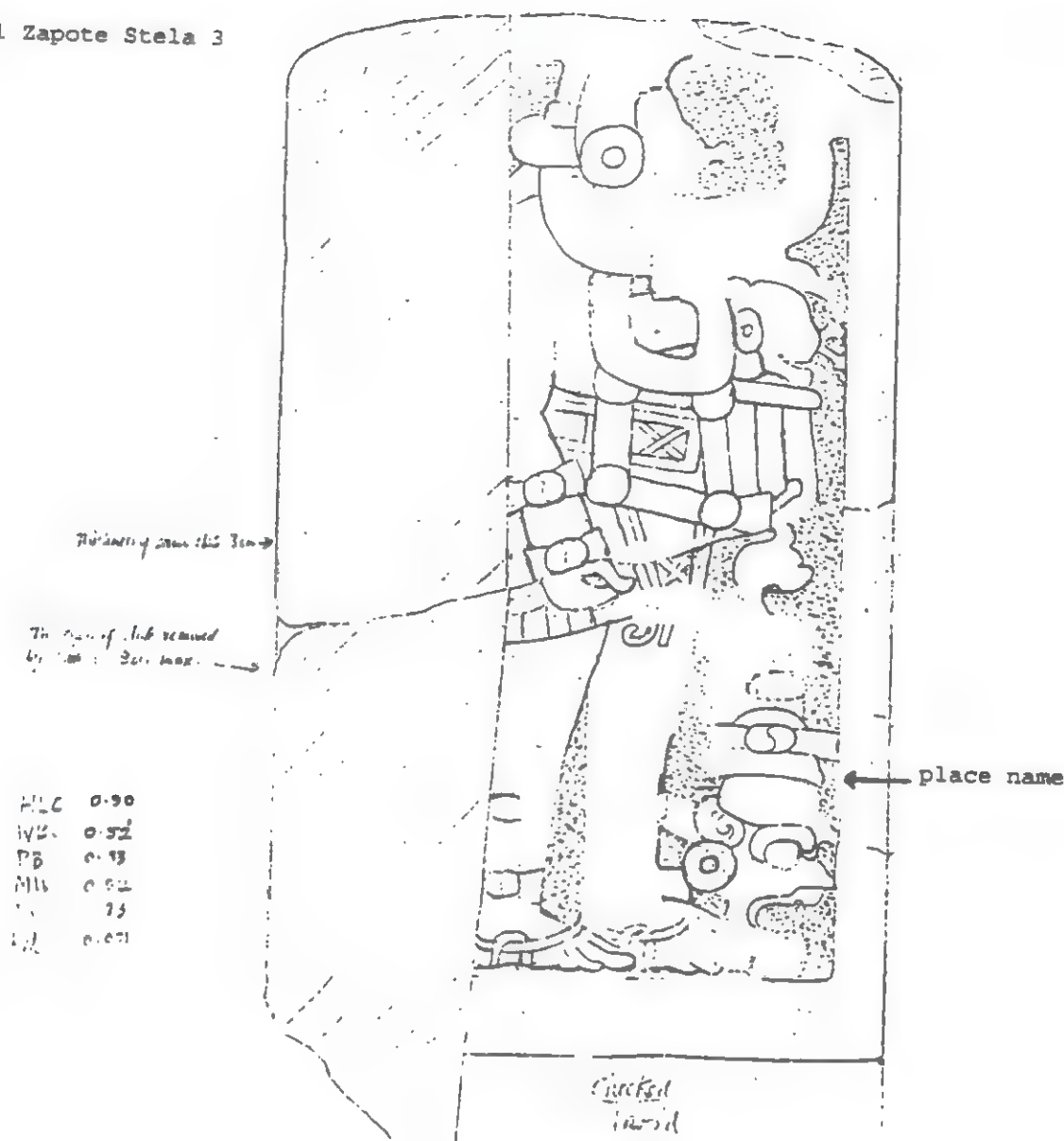


Fig.97

Apparently Jaguar Paw and his main captain Smoking Frog go north and take Waxaktun and then Jaguar Paw goes towards Lake Peten Itza and gets involved with Bejucal which is the early beginnings of Motul de San Jose. He dies and Yax Ain takes over. Yax Ain turns Tikal to the south and takes El Zapote. So we have the first extension to the north and the northwest and then they turn and they expand to the south.

(Nikolai) We will continue with El Zapote in a moment, but at the same time another polity became established. In the vicinity of El Zapote is the great archaeological site of Yaxha. There are many Early Classic monuments at Yaxha. Most of them unfortunately have no readable dates. The iconography is clearly war related. Here for example we have clearly Teotihuacan war iconography very explicitly recorded (Fig.98) along with other monuments which are absolutely purely Maya or else there is no more pure Teotihuacan war iconography at all (Fig.99, Fig.100, Fig.101). Yaxha, by that time, was an active political entity suggested by the presence of the Yaxha emblem glyph here in Fig.100 and Fig.101. In this case it is a toponym and it reads Yax ha k'an kun or the "Yaxha Sky Seat" and here it is recorded as the "Yaxha Ahaw."

Yaxha

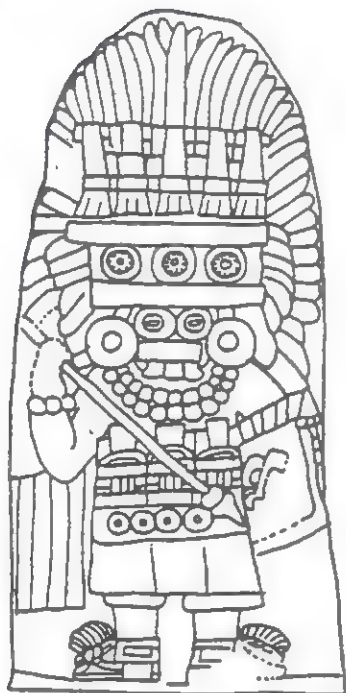


Fig.98

Yaxha

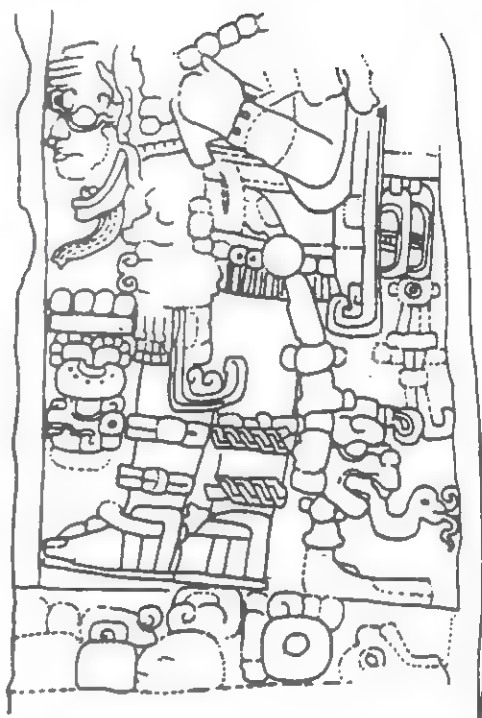
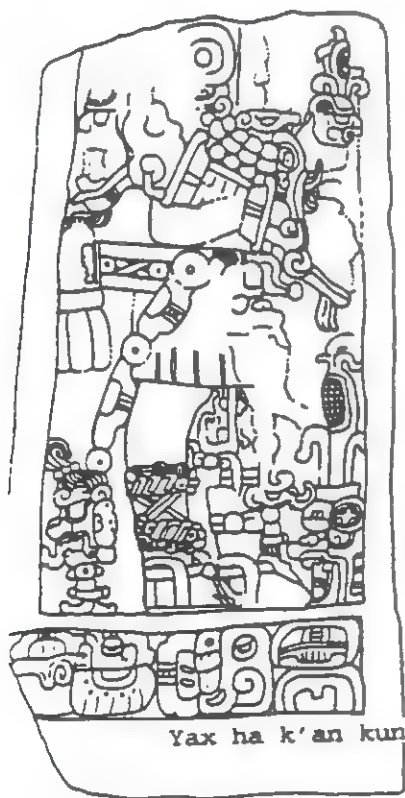


Fig.99

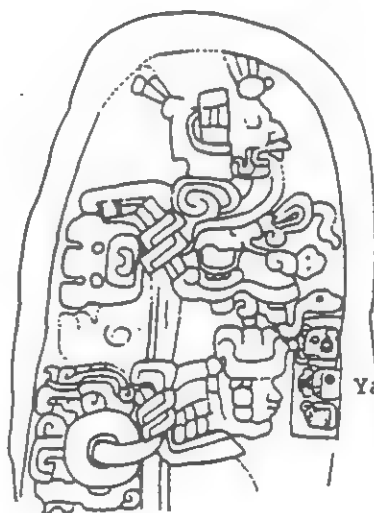
Yaxha .



Yax ha k'an kun

Fig.100

Yaxha



Yaxha Ahaw

Fig.101

(Linda) What's even more interesting is that back in Fig.96 (El Zapote Stela 1) the costume that this person is wearing is that of a character called Ol Chak and he is the one who cracks open the turtle shell. Here is the snake in the person's mouth. The same snake is in Fig.99 and Fig.101. (David Freidel) The earliest expression of this is on Temple 34 at El Mirador in the Late Pre-Classic. (Nikolai) At the site of Uxbenka, in the Toledo District of southern Belize, this stela (Stela 11) was also erected (Fig.102). This stela in this part of the loin cloth is the name of the Tikal king, Jaguar Paw.

Uxbenka Stela 11

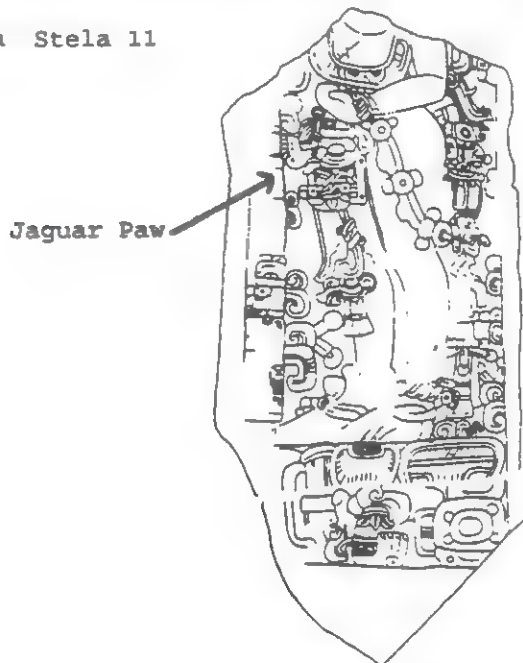


Fig.102

We are now going to return to El Zapote (Fig.103) and look at Stela 5 (8.19.4.10.10) (Sept.20, 420). El Zapote, as far as we can figure, is a type of vassal site or polity under the dominion of Tikal, even though they are erecting very explicit u kah statements of subordination and hierarchy. But on El Zapote Stela 5 here (A2) there is a sign with a wing and a ya suffix that reads ch'ay "to disappear" and this is a glyph that reads sak nik nal which is part of the death expression (B2) and a metaphor for "soul." Here we have the name of Yax Ain (second part of B2 and A3 is the yax part of the name). Here we have the focus marker (B3) again and then we have och ha recorded here (B4) as a death expression. This may be a reference to the death of Yax Ain acknowledged at El Zapote.

El Zapote Stela 5

ch'ay
"to disappear"

Yax



sak nik nal / Ain
soul

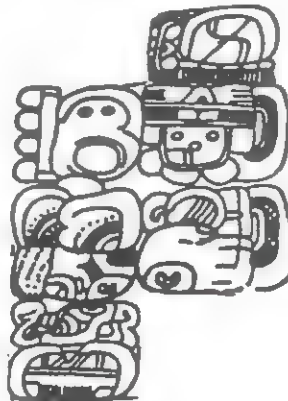
focus marker

och ha

Fig.103

The next date that we will look at is the 8.19.10.0.0 (Jan.31, 426) phrase back on Tikal Stela 31 (Fig.194). This is a Period Ending for the half k'atun celebrated by Sian Kan K'awil (A4).

Tikal Stela 31



Sian Kan K'awil

Fig.104

(Linda) There are some other bits of information that we need to point out here. The next four texts all record what happened on 9.0.0.0.0 (Dec.10, 435). This text is on a small looted celt that we think came from Rio Azul (Fig.105) and from Tomb 1 that has all of the painting in it, but of course, there is no way of ever proving that again. It has the Period Ending with the end of bolon pih (A3 B3). Then we have och nal (A4) u kahi (B4) and then the name of the person who did it here (A5 B5.) There is further information too. This is ya here (B6) and he scatters blood into a bowl on the Tun Ending (A7). Then we have a mention of the type of headdress that he is wearing at B7 which reads u hun "his headdress" bolon pih ahaw (A8) which is the type of headdress. Then we have a continuation of names here (B8 A9) followed by a yahaw phrase of subordination (B9) kuy te (A10) kun kan (B10). The kuy te is the war title from Tikal. We have now to prove if this is a direct reference to Tikal, but that kuy te title is exclusively at Tikal and this place at this time. This then could be a possibility.

looted celt

the end of		bolon pih
och nal		u kahi
name		name
		ya
		scatters blood
into a bowl on the Tun Ending		u hun
		"his headdress"
bolon pih ahaw		name
name		yahaw
kuy te		kun kan



Fig.105

This is the bahk'tun ending on El Zapote Stela 5 (Fig.106). Here's the 9 (A2). 0 (B2). 0 (A3). 0 (B3). 0 (A4). This is the area where we should have the name of the actor recorded. We only have a birth frog here at A10. David Stuart has just shown that the name that was formerly called Stormy Sky is in fact a sky sign that is split open with a small god emerging from it (see Tikal Stela 31 at A9). He has shown that this is a way of spelling sih which means "to be born" and this is the k'awil (the emerging god). The name of this lord was probably Sian Kan K'awil or "birth or beginning sky embodiment." This is the way of writing "birth" (back on El Zapote Stela 5 at A10) or sih, so we have the possibility that El Zapote is referring to the same king ending the bahk'tun on the monument there. We will show you in a minute that there is some pretty good evidence that is exactly what is going on from the next phrase.

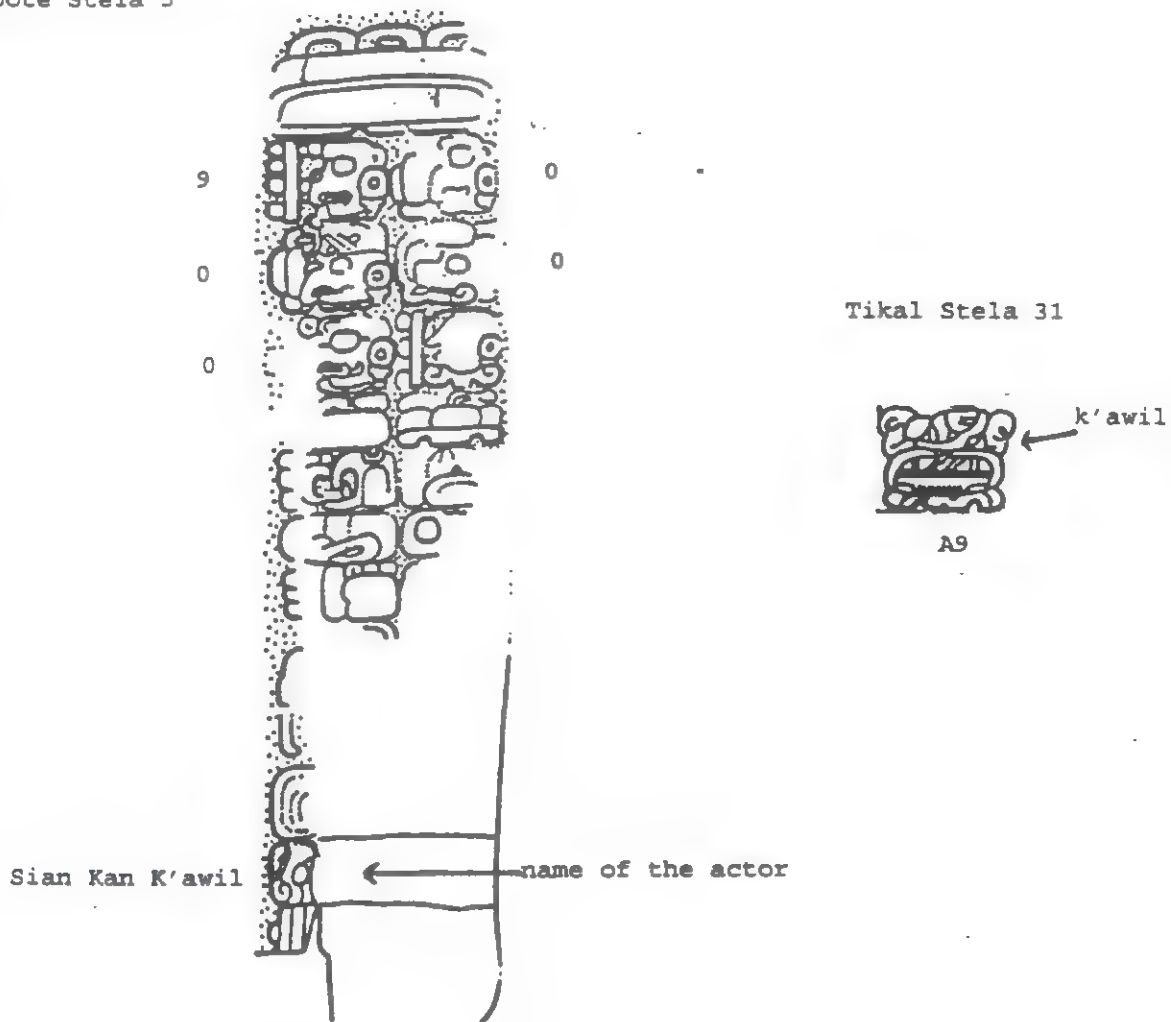


Fig.106

(Nikolai) The celebration of the bahk'tun ending at Tikal was done "in the company of" yitah (B1) u hun "the headband of" (A2) and this reclining jaguar seems to be one of the protector gods of Tikal (B2). Here he has the nak nal title (A3) followed by yitah "in the company of" (B3) and here is another name of either a protector god or a figure or statue of a protector god (A4). This occurs, the head with the winal glyph in his mouth, at Caracol and Dos Pilas. (Linda) The next glyph reads chak te (B4) and then we have the atlatl shield (A5). This could be one of the great wooden battle banners.

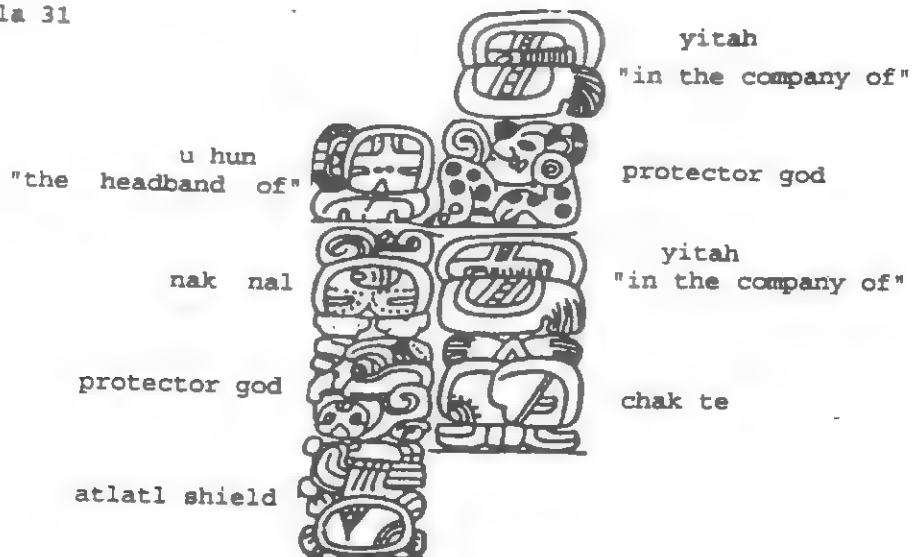


Fig.107

BREAK 3:30-3:45 PM

(Linda) This is the next text (Tikal Stela 31) (Fig.108) and this is a critical event in which we know very little unfortunately. The reason why this is important is that Clemency Coggins pointed out from information given to her by Tatiana Proskouriakoff, that the date celebrated on Lintel 3 of Temple 1 was 40 days after the capture of a king from Calakmul. It appears that on that day the king, Hasaw Kan K'awil was probably carrying in the captured palanquin from Calakmul and that day was precisely the 13th k'atun anniversary for this day. It may be because this is the last surviving readable passage on the stela. The whole bottom part of the stela is broken which was probably due to an enemy entering the kun of Tikal or Mutul and destroying its monuments. As Hasaw Kan K'awil reset the monument he goes back to the dedication date of the temple that holds that monument on this day. The text starts out with a distance number of 3 tuns (A3), 9 winals (B2), and 18 k'ins (A2) and then we have a completion glyph, so "it was completed" (B3) bolon pih (A4). The date is 12 Etz'nab (B4) or 9.0.3.9.18 (June 10, 439). The event is clearly och bih "he entered the road" (A5) and this is a complementary metaphor for the och ha. "To enter the road" is to fall down the Milky Way. "To enter the water" is to fall to the primordial sea at the base of the Milky Way. Basically, what we have here is a death. The person who died is recorded here at B5 with a kawak shield (ku) and the atlatl sign. At least part of this reads kuy and this probably refers to the death of the warrior. The problem is now that we recognize this glyph as the one for death, we do not know who this is. David Freidel and I proposed that it was a title of Sian Kan K'awil that he took on his accession and that this was some sort of event that he did at Tikal as a warrior. The problem is Yax Ain is dead. Smoking Frog is dead and we know that Sian Kan K'awil lived until at least 9.10.0.0.0, because he dedicates a monument. In fact he dedicates this stela on that date and the problem is that we do not know who that was.

Tikal Stela 31

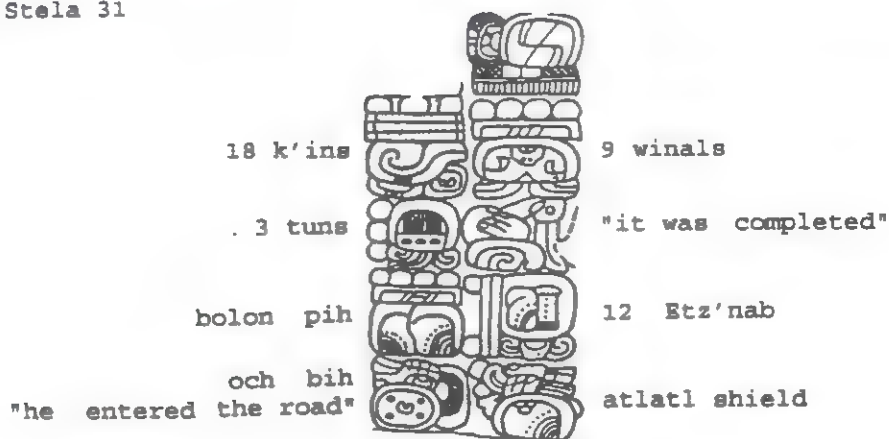


Fig.108

So we do not know who it is that dies here. It must have been someone important and perhaps it may have been a member of the family who was the kuy of the city.

Now these two texts are (Fig.109 and Fig.110) over the so-called Teotihuacan figures on the sides of Tikal Stela 31. These are also the guys who carry the atlatl shields with the long tails. We start out with an auxiliary verb u bah (A1) which means "he goes." Here is the name introductory glyph (B1) followed by k'atun (A2) ahaw (B2) Yax (A3) Ain (B3) and he is Mutul Ahaw (A4). We next have a series of events here (B4 C1) followed by yahaw (D1). The next two glyphs (C2 D2) repeat these on the other side of the monument here (C2 and C3). We have machak te (D2) as the principal name and we are told that the machak te was the "child of" (C4) the atlatl shield person (D4). Here he has become the chak te. On this side of the monument he is still the yahaw te of the chak te or still the subordinate of the chak te.

Tikal Stela 31 side

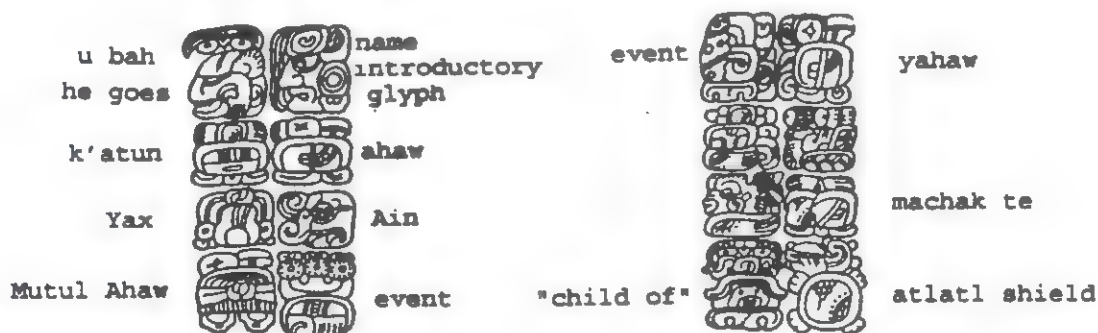


Fig.109

The other side of Tikal Stela 31 (Fig.110) begins with the same thing. It starts with u bah (A1) followed by the name introductory glyph (B2) and here is the title that we saw before with the hand and the k'an followed by k'inich (A2) or Hu K'an K'inich or it is Sih K'an

K'inich. Here's the actor's name Yax Ain (B2) and yunen "the child of" (A3) and here is the atlatl kuy (B2). So what we are told is that Yax Ain is the son or "child of" the guy who was the atlatl shield person. Then we have a tz'ap or "erect" event here (C1) for some object here (D1). We do not know what that object is, but we are told that the person who tz'aps it is the yahaw te (D2) of the machak te (C3) ahaw of Mutul (D3). I think this is when Yax Ain is still subordinate to Smoking Frog who was the chak te at the time.

Tikal Stela 31 side

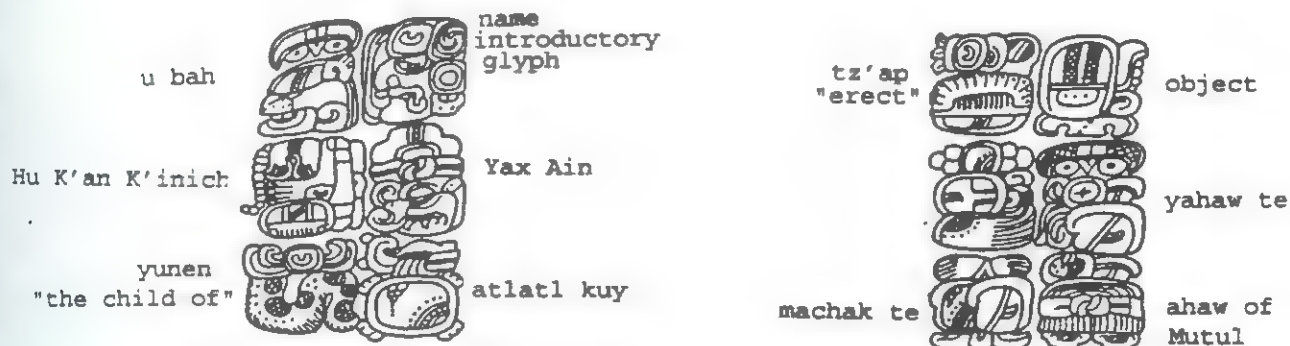


Fig.110

What we are seeing then is the same person at different stages of his life. One is that he is still subordinate and the other is when he becomes the high king. The important thing here is that he calls himself the "child of" this person who is the atlatl shield person. This complementary phrase (Fig.111, main text of Tikal Stela 31) tells us clearly that Sian Kan K'awil (B2) the Mutul Ahaw (A3) is the "child of" (B3) Yax Ain (A5).

Tikal Stela 31



Fig.111

So we know that Stormy Sky or Sian Kan K'awil is the son of Yax Ain and Yax Ain is telling us that he is the "child of" the atlatl kuy person. Now whether it's this same person (D4 of Fig.109 or A5 of

Fig.111) we do not know. The problem is at this time I was far more confident of who the father of Yax Ain was before these two readings came up. I would have to say now that we don't know. This leaves open more room for those who would love Yax Ain to be a foreigner, but the Tikal succession treats this period as if it were a straight succession with no problems. It does not treat this as a break, so I still resist the idea that Yax Ain was someone from Kaminaljuyu, Teotihuacan or Mars.

(Nikolai) Now on El Zapote Stela 5 (Fig.112) we have a phrase that repeats the 9.0.0.0.0 bahk'tun ending. Here we have tz'apah "the planting or erecting of a stela" (B3) and in this case the agent of the action was Sian Kan K'awil (B5 and first half of A6) of Mutul (second half of A6). This text also records 9.0.4.0.0 (Nov.19, 439) or 4 tuns after the Period Ending (B6). Here we have after "it ended" (A7) the 9 bahk'tuns (B7) Wak Kan (A9) Muyal Witz (B9) which is a location.

El Zapote Stela 5

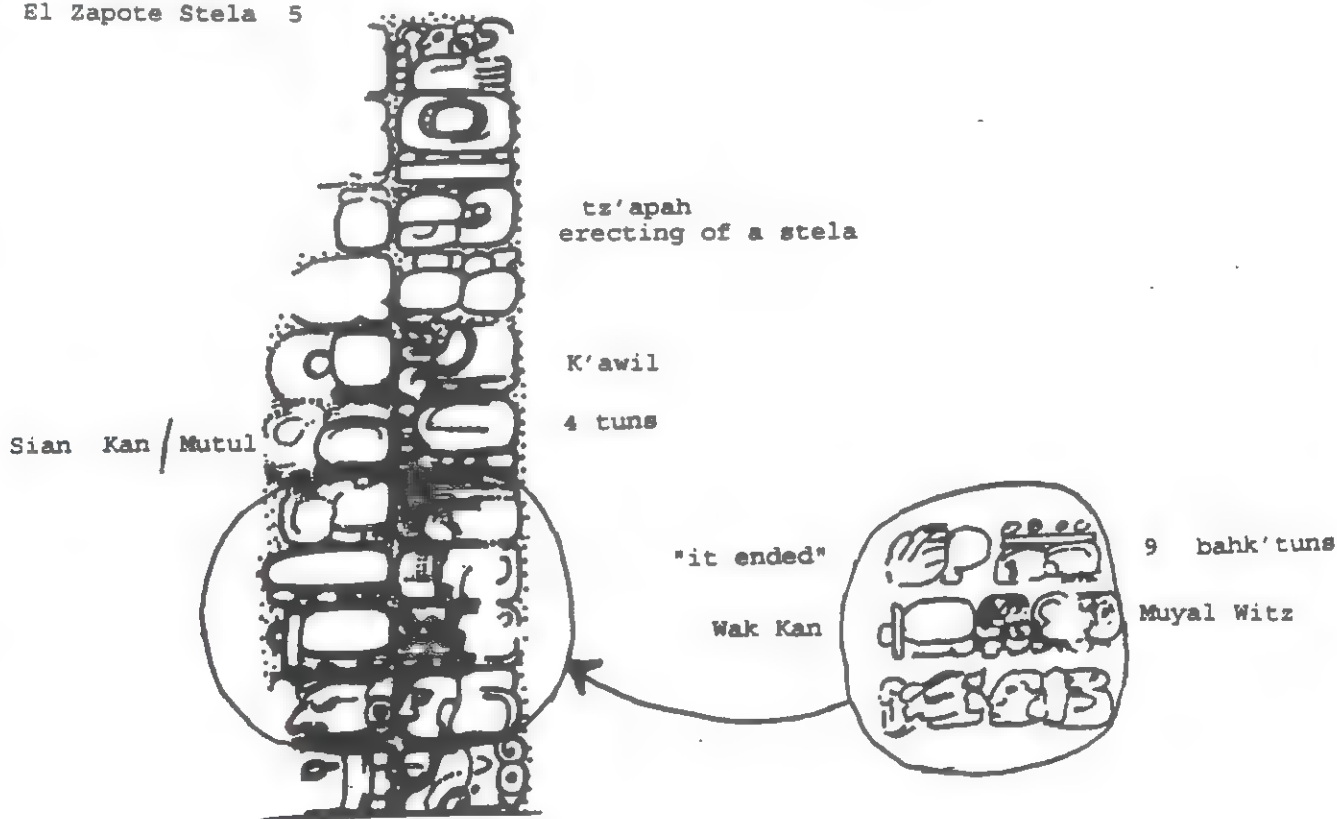


Fig.112

The same glyphs appear in a phrase that records the name of a place at Rio Azul (Fig.113). This is from the famous tomb at Rio Azul and it states after the date here (A1 B1) that mukah "was buried" (C1) wak muyal "six cloud" (D1) chanal "sky" (E1) place and the person was buried in Rio Azul (F1). It doesn't necessarily mean that there was any relation between Rio Azul and El Zapote, but both of these sites used the major place names and they are probably both burials.

tomb at Rio Azul

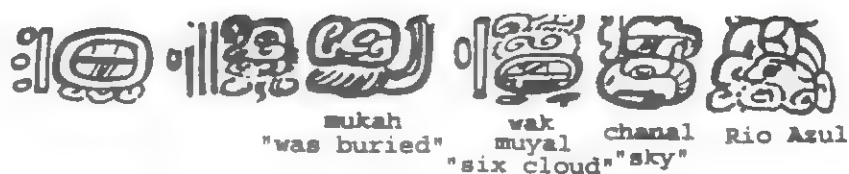


Fig.113

This is the front side of El Zapote Stela 5 (rt) and this is the left side of El Zapote Stela 5 (left) (Fig.114). Here is the Tikal emblem glyph on the back of Stela 5 and on the front of Stela 5 is a person in the dress of the Maize God carrying a glyph here which has as an infix the reclining jaguar which was one of the protector gods of Tikal. This may be one of the cache bundles that holds the effigy gods.

El Zapote Stela 5

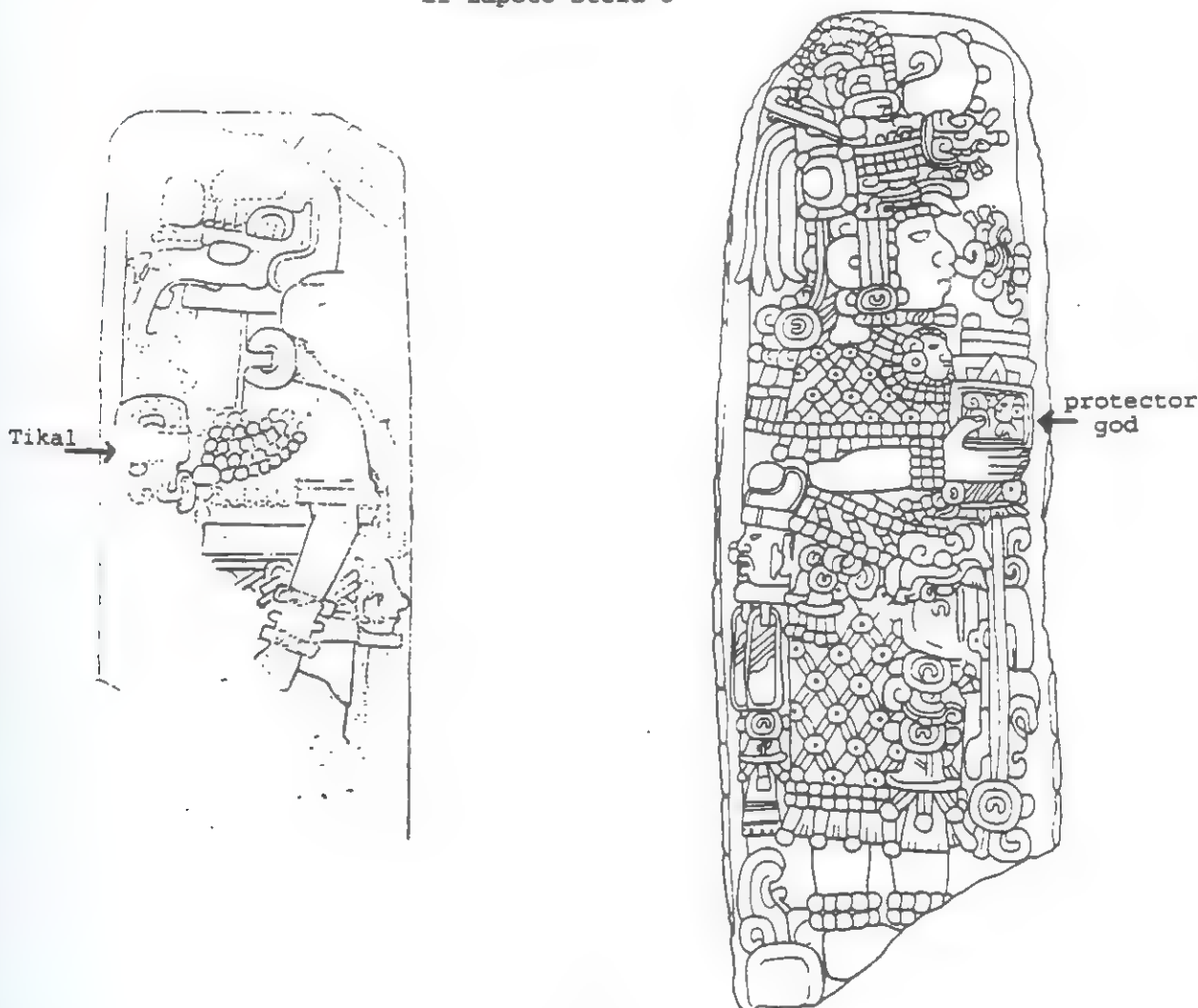
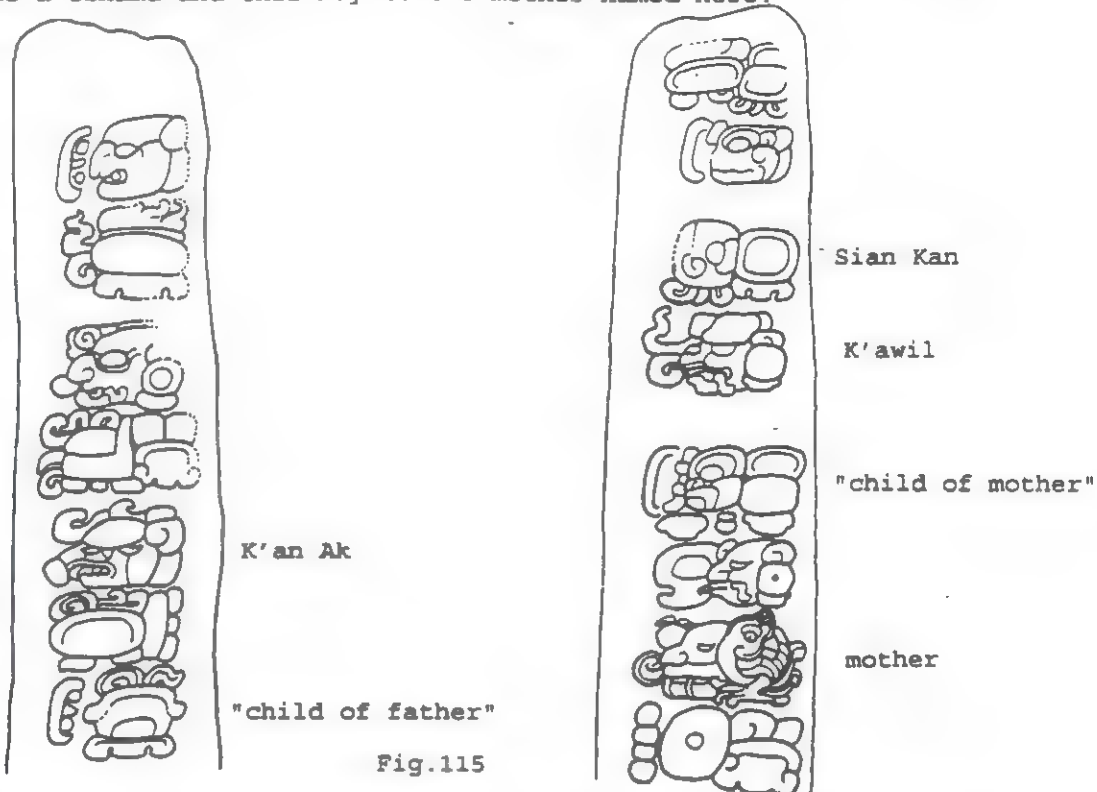


Fig.114

This is Tikal Stela 13 (Fig.115) and stylistically we think that this is one of the earliest stelae after Sian Kan K'awil. (Linda) The next ruler has two monuments. One that is dated to 9.2.0.0.0 and this one which dates to 9.0.10.0.0. This is the famous K'an Boar. His name was actually K'an Ak (A5) which means "Precious Peccary". We have never known who his father was. While Nikolai and I were working on this we thought that we saw the possibility that we had Sian Kan K'awil (B3 B4) following the "child of father" glyph (A7). I looked at the original monument recently in Tikal and the birth frog head is clear at B3. This

is really important because K'an Boar did not have a direct descendible path between Sian Kan K'awil and K'an Ak. Now we know they are father and son. This means that there is no break in the succession here either. This is the "child of mother" glyph here (B5) and we looked at this really closely. Further in the text at B7 there is a bird which looks like a tinamu and this may be the mother named here.

Tikal Stela 13



(Nikolai) We will now move to another site, Tres Islas, which is on the southern end of the Rio Passion. It is relatively close to another Maya site called Cancuen. Stela 1 (Fig. 116) dates to 8.18.18.15.0 (Jan. 29, 415), however the text is badly eroded. It appears that there was an accession recorded here (B6). (Linda) We have two monuments here (Stela 1 and Stela 2 from Tres Islas) that record the Period Ending of 9.2.0.0.0 (May 14, 475) and they contain retrospective history. (Nikolai) Here the individual carries an emblem glyph (B7) which Steve and Peter Mathews have identified as the emblem glyph of Cancuen. Tres Islas has no proper emblem glyphs. In the Early Classic they seem to use the Cancuen emblem glyph. Tres Islas was an Early Classic precursor to Cancuen. We have this situation more than once where we have an Early Classic site with an emblem glyph and then it is overtaken by another site. Probably the focus of attention or the "seat" of the dynasty moved from Early Classic to Late Classic at one site to another site. (Linda) Now when we move down here in the text we have the 9.2.0.0.0 date (D7). Here's the name introductory glyph (C8) and here's the name of the protagonist (D8), probably the pictured individual. This is probably a title (C9) followed by an emblem glyph (D9). (Nikolai) This individual is a warrior dressed in the typical Teotihuacan war iconography costume standing on a mountain called K'inich Mo Witz.

Tres Islas Stela 1

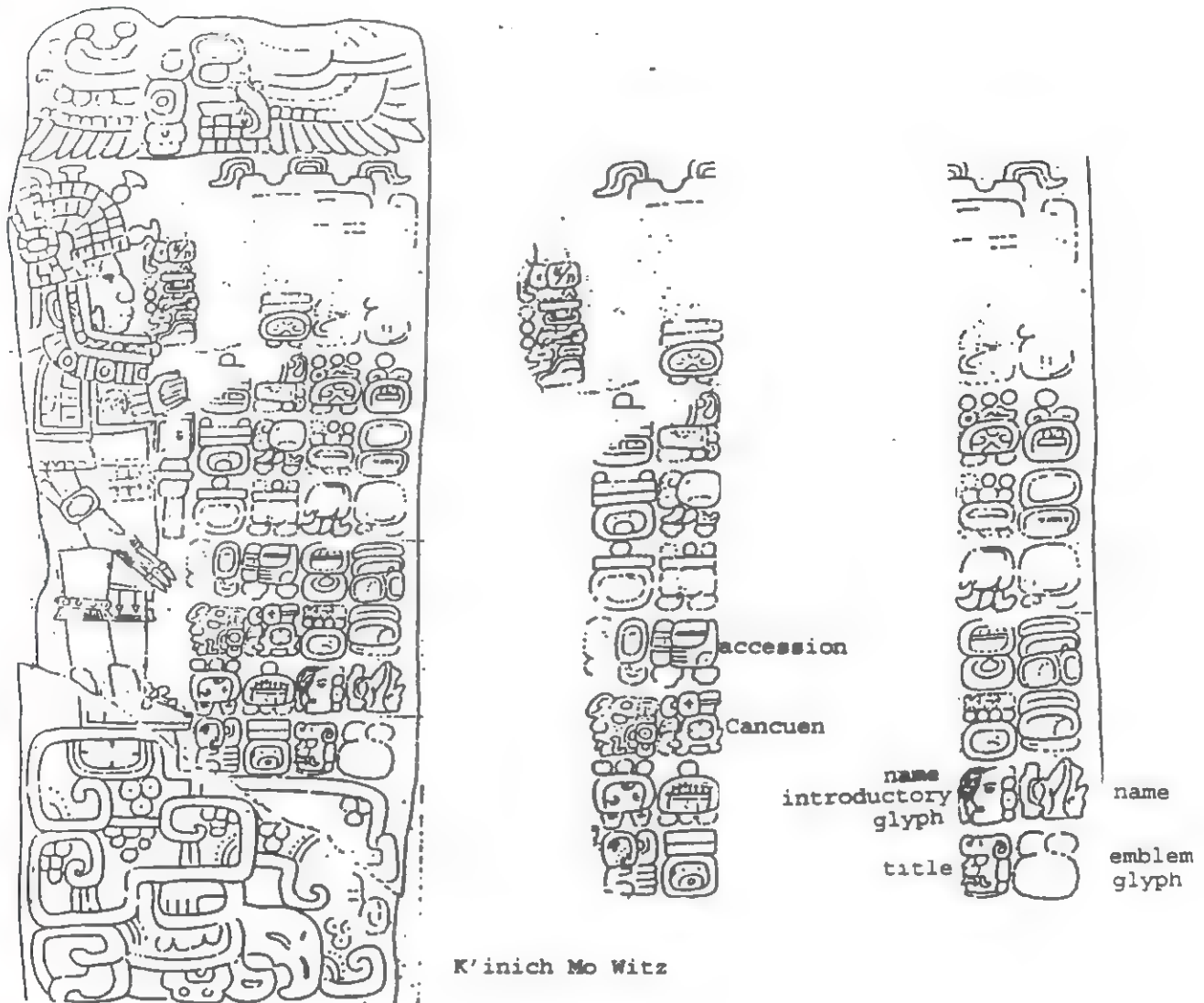


Fig.116

(Linda) On Tres Islas Stela 2 (Fig.117) you can see the same mountain. Here is the k'inich. Here is the macaw (right side) and here's the clefted witz monster. Inside of that is the Maize God, probably an ancestor holding the Double-Headed Serpent Bar for communication into the Otherworld. Here is the king above the mountain and here is the 9.2.0.0.0 (B7). Here is the name of one of the protagonists (B9) who was the "son of" (A10) this person (C1) followed by the Cancuen emblem glyph (D1). Then we have the "child of father" glyph at C2 and a title (D2) followed by the name of the father at E1 (the same name is repeated on Stela 1 at D8). This is then followed by a glyph that calls him the 19th successor of and the Machaquila emblem glyph E2. This tells us that now the king is carrying the Canuen emblem glyph and that he is a successor to someone who is using the Machaquila emblem glyph. Later, as stated on a newly-found Cancuen panel, Canuen is using both the Cancuen emblem glyph and the Machaquila emblem glyph. Somehow these two polities acted together in part of the Classic Period.

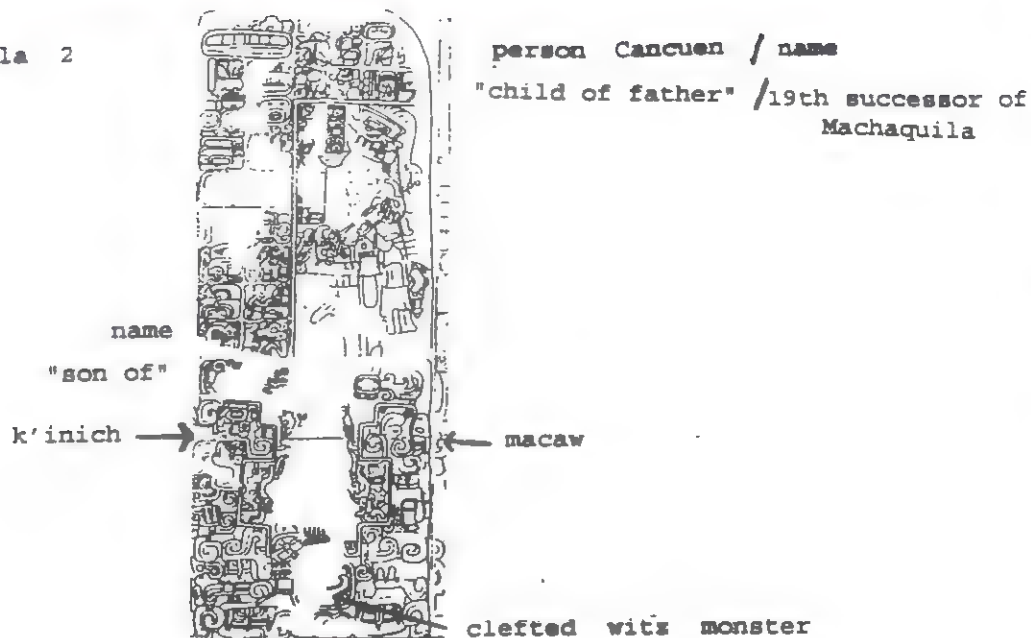


Fig.117

(Linda) The real importance here is that we have the Petexbatun acting. We have polities in the area of the Petexbatun. So we have polities at Tikal and Calakmul. We have polities to the north of Tikal such as Waxactun and Bejucal. We have ones to the south such as El Zapote and Caracol. Now we have the Petexbatun acting. This doesn't mean that the Petexbatun wasn't active earlier. All it means is that now we have kings in the area who are erecting monuments and who are using the same war iconography of those who are warring everywhere else. They seem to be playing the game by the same rules.

This is the earliest date that we have from Naranjo (Fig.118). This is Naranjo Stela 41 (9.2.0.0.0 (May 14, 475). One of the problems here is that no one has ever done archaeology at Naranjo. However, we have a Naranjo king wearing a backrack, wearing a god on front of his headdress, and he is standing in this position of holding a staff at the Period Ending. This is the same Period Ending that we just saw at Tres Islas.

Naranjo Stela 41

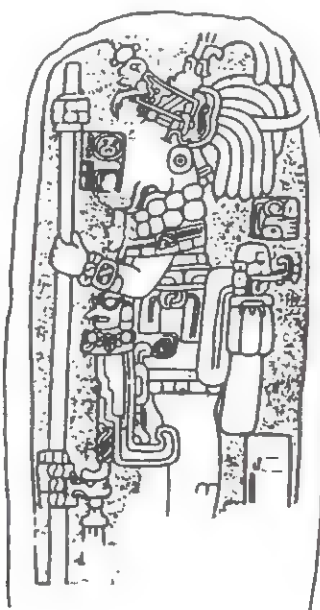


Fig.118

So certainly by this time we have Naranjo acting and Naranjo using the same iconography in the same way of approaching the Period Endings that Tikal was using at this time.

This is on one of the staff monuments from Tikal (Tikal Stela 3) (Fig. 119) and the date on it is 9.2.13.0.0 (Mar. 6, 488). This is K'an Ak (A3) the king who was the son of Sian Kan K'awil. Here he is holding (A2) this scepter (B2) and here we have "the child of" (B1). So he is being named here as the father and the person who is son is this glyph here (A1) with the horn hand combined with a head. This is apparently either the ahaw or the ruling king at Tikal at 9.2.13.0.0.

Tikal Stela 3

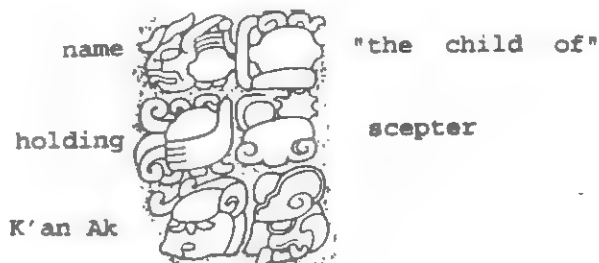


Fig. 119

(Nikolai) The nice thing from earflares said to be from Rio Azul (Fig. 120) is that we have exactly the same thing. We have no date for these earflares, but we do know that they are Early Classic. It has been suggested that Rio Azul at some time in its early history was conquered by Tikal. At first we rejected this idea, but this evidence as recorded by this very rare glyph (second sign of B1) brings good proof that there was at least contact between Rio Azul and Tikal at that time. Here we have the Rio Azul emblem glyph which is the knot wrapped around the head (B1). Here we have another name (first half of B1). This same name occurs on a monument from Copan (Copan Stela 20) (Fig. 121). We looked at this last year when we were studying the early monuments from Copan in order to check whether our suspicion that Copan was associated with Tikal holds true or not. This glyph here (D2) is the same as this one on the earflare called the "no mouth" ahaw. The date on this Copan monument is 9.1.10.0.0. which means we have a person at Rio Azul whose name is showing up in the proper emblem glyph at Copan and we have a person at Tikal showing up on an inscription with a Rio Azul emblem glyph. The second earflare begins with the name tagging expression, u sak nik "the white flower" followed by the glyph for earflare (E1) which is a metaphoric expression because earflares very often had the shape of flowers in Maya iconography. Then we have yahaw och k'in (F1) chak te followed by the kawak shield or kuy owl and the atlatl shield (G1). That owl is on the top of Sian Kan K'awil's headdress. (Linda) What this means is that whoever owned these earflares was the subordinate lord of the west chak te kuy. Then we have a title here that means Mas Ahaw (H1). Mas Ahaw seems to be a title used more than once at Rio Azul.

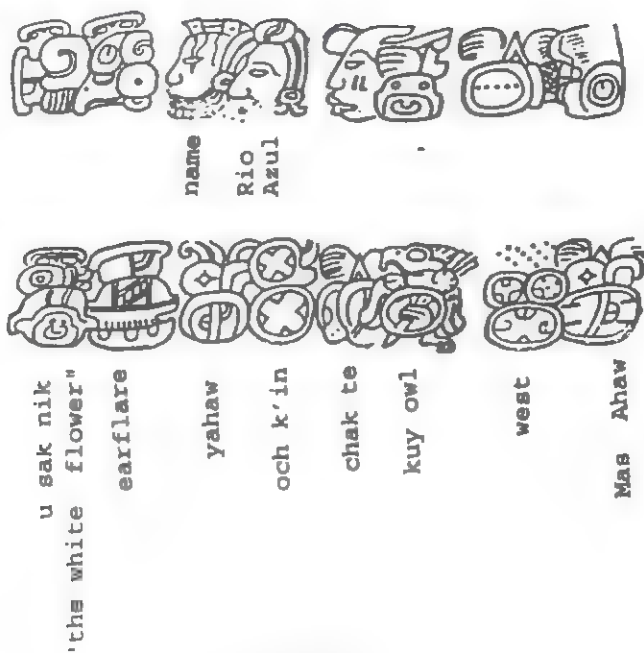


Fig. 120

Copan Stela 20



Fig. 121

(Nikolai) This is another new text which is on the back side of a looted slate mirror from Calakmul (Fig. 122). It has no date, but we want to show you that Calakmul, by this time, already existed as a polity. Now we really do not have any early monuments from Calakmul, but Calakmul certainly used an emblem glyph at the same time as Naranjo began to use an emblem glyph along with Caracol and Rio Azul. This seems to be a name tagging expression that reads "his mirrorback" (A) followed by a ch'ok title for "youth" and possibly a glyph for way (C). This is a u kun title (D). This is a very beautiful Calakmul emblem glyph (E) with the main sign being a snake head. For a very long time there was a debate whether the main monuments and looted monuments which had the snake emblem glyph main sign came from Calakmul or El Peru or another site. This has been resolved over the last year partly because we could show that El Peru was a good pet name for the snake sign emblem glyph, but we can now show that El Peru has its own emblem glyph. Finally, we found a couple of monuments from Calakmul that had this emblem glyph and a series of toponyms which is also associated with emblem glyphs that occur on many of the Calakmul monuments. There are probably 110 or 111 stelae from Calakmul, but they are in such a bad state of erosion that not much information can be obtained. So there are only two or three stelae with their texts legible enough to identify emblem glyphs. This means the owner of this mirror was a "child of" (F) this person (G) who was the divine king of Calakmul (H).

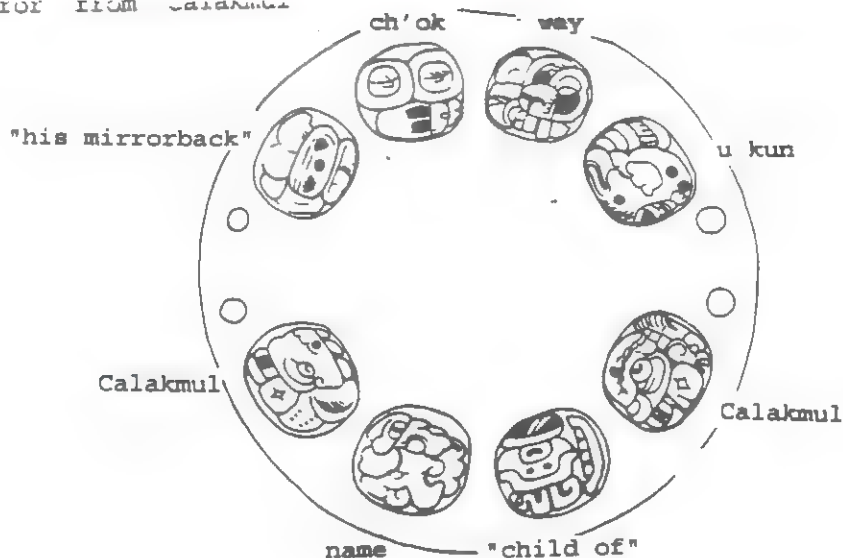


Fig.122

This is a major discovery of last year (Fig.123). It is a very important hieroglyphic inscription from the Margarita structure in the Copan acropolis. It's one of the earliest structures in Copan which has been found. This was put on the floor inside a vaulted tomb face up and they built a wall that sealed the tomb right over the top of it. It shows hardly any use, so it might have been made specifically for this place. The text here would normally begin with an Initial Series Introductory Glyph (A1 A2), but in this case it seems like a different function because no date is following. The clue to what it is comes from this glyph (C1) which is a variant of the u sign. David and I deciphered the next sign as k'aba meaning "name." U k'aba means "the name of" so this bird here (B1 B2) seems to be the name of a structure. We think this might be muknal and written with the skull it would be "tomb." However we have no proof for that, but it was found at the entrance to a tomb. Then this had to be some kind of dedication verb (A1 A2). There is some evidence that the superfix here, a small ka sign on both sides, might read (tsik ?) which means "to dedicate, to consecrate, and to honor." This is the Copan emblem glyph main sign, the bat head (E1) ahaw (E2), so he is a Copan Ahaw. The name of the Copan ahaw may have been this one (F1) which contains the k'inich title followed by nab for "waterlily" (F2). (Linda) Then we have a ba (G1) followed by something that we can't read and then the throne glyph (G2). (Nikolai) We then have a date which is 13 Ahaw (H1) and 2 Haab or 2 years (H2). What we have then, is a 13 Ahaw date. Without any further information, this would usually be a round date so that the last two digits of the Long Count would be 0.0. If we calculate this using the 13 Ahaw as a reference with the 2 years, the only possible solution that fits is that this date must be 9.0.2.0.0. Then we have our beautiful owl glyph at I1 in a verbal position with a ya suffix. Kuyi in Tzeltal and Tzotzil means "to arrange ancient histories." May be that is the meaning here. We then have bolon (J1) and the number tree over a tun sign. The problem is that we are not sure how to read this number tree. It might read "the ninth carved stone," but we really aren't sure. Then we have Glyph F which tells us that G4 ruled the day (K1) and this is another case where the Lord of the Night is in error. Next we have wak hanab (L1) ka (L2) hi (M1) nal (M2). This then reads Wak Hanab Kah Nal which is the name for "Burial Mountain." Hanab Witz, for example, is the name of the mountain where one of the kings of Piedras Negras is buried and is also used as a title in the name of Pakal. Then we have ha or nab (N1) k'ul (N2) so this is the name of a "water-lily god" followed by k'inich (O1) and then the name of Yax K'uk Mo' (O2) which is the name of the Copan king. This glyph we can't read yet (P1) which is unfortunate. The last glyph (P2) is recorded with an upturned frog head and out of his mouth is coming smoke. This must be Smoking Frog. Our question here, is what does

Smoking Frog do on this text? Is this the Tikal Smoking Frog who is acting at Copan or is Yax K'uk Mo', the Founder of the lineage at Copan, related to Smoking Frog of Tikal? Is he a member of the Tikal dynasty who was sent to Copan in order to "found" a new dynasty?

(A question is raised here about the Smoking Frog glyph being just one of the names of Yax K'uk Mo'. Linda answers here that if this is just a name, it is the only time in the history of Copan that it's included. Terry Kaufman asks if the Smoking Frog name could be a title? Linda says the way that they usually display titles is that they appear in many different peoples' names across time and space or consistently in different peoples' names at the same site. This glyph has very limited distribution. Basically, these are the two contexts. You have seen all of the examples. At Tikal there are a lot of names with sih or the frog head, but combined with the k'ak there are no others. There is a sculpture called the "Man of Tikal" at Tikal dated between 8.17 and 8.19. Yax K'uk Mo' shows up at Copan 8.19. The name of that man on that sculpture at Tikal is K'uk Mo'. There seems to be a whole bunch of coincidences for this, but we can not prove it. (Nikolai) From the early architecture under Structure 26, the earliest structure known so far, dating from the time of Yax K'uk Mo' (the building that this tomb is in) the facade molding could come straight out of the north acropolis at Tikal. There is nothing else like it at Copan.

Margarita inscription

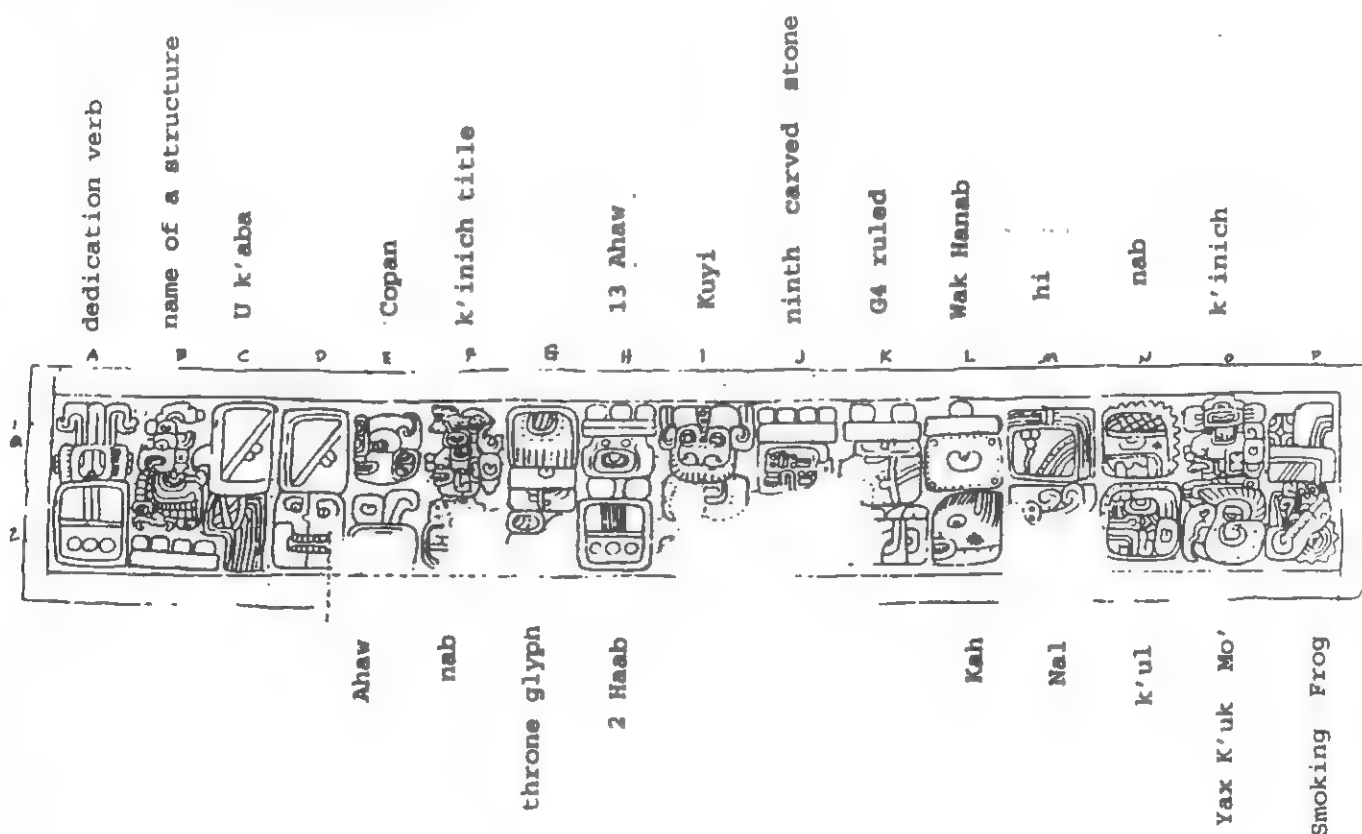


Fig.123

Let's now look at the next Tikal king. (Linda) There are three monuments at Tikal that all date to 9.3.0.0 (Jan.28, 495) and they all have the name Jaguar Paw II on them. All of them too are Period Ending monuments so we do not receive very much additional information about them. Here on Tikal Stela 7 (Fig.124) we have "child of father" recorded here at A5 and here we have K'an Ak (A7). So this is the second son of K'an Ak to reign.

Tikal Stela 7

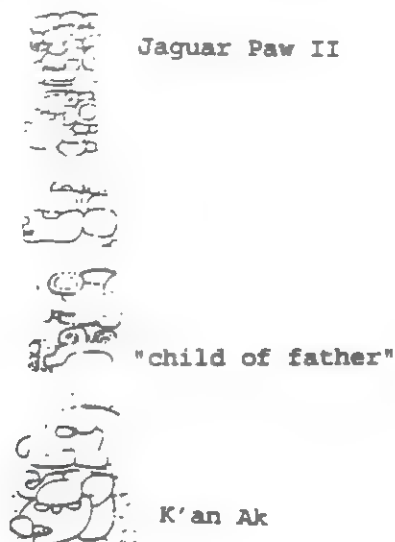


Fig.124

Then we have another monument at 9.3.2.0.0 (Jan.18, 497) (Fig.125). This is the name of the person (A1) written with a frog head and something coming out of its mouth which from texts at Copan is a version of te. So it appears to be te. This is Nab K'inich here (B1-B2) and that appears to correspond to this name on a looted pot (Fig.126) that has a succession list from this period at Tikal at D1. Here we have k'inich and there's the e and the te. He is also listed as the 13th Successor (A1).

Tikal Stela 9
e te

Nab

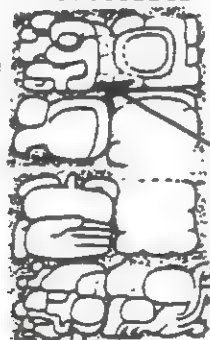


Fig.125

looted pot



Nab K'inich
e te

Fig.126

This makes it a bit of a problem because the same pot names Jaguar Paw as the 14th Successor. There is a little problem with the numbers of the succession, but all of these guys were probably the sons of K'an Ak. So there are at least three or four sons of K'an Ak who appear to have short reigns during this period.

(Nikolai) At about the same time, Yaxchilan is recording these passages. Most of this comes from the work of Peter Mathews. Recorded on a series of lintels from Yaxchilan there is a count of the successions from the Founder of the dynasty of Yaxchilan. Here on Yaxchilan Lintel 37 (Fig.127) we have the 9th king (A1) of Yaxchilan whose name is Knot Eye Jaguar recorded here (A2) with a Yaxchilan

emblem glyph (B2).

Yaxchilan Lintel 37

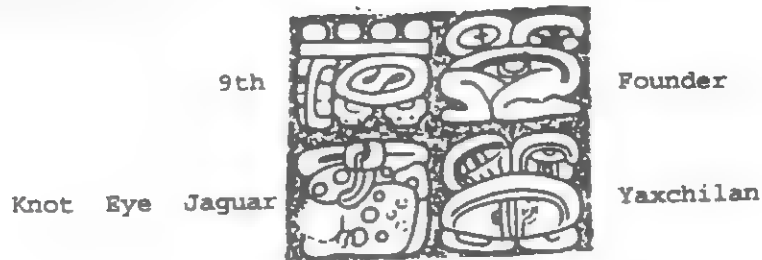


Fig.127

When he acceded he received visitors who are named (Fig.128). The glyph introducing the names of the visitors is this one which is a ye hand with a te sign following so it reads yeteh (A1). The visitors are named. The first one is Great God (B1) Green Owl (A2) and he is a Hu Yahaw te (B2) or "vassal lord of" this person named at A3 who is from Bonampak (B3). There was another visitor who was simply called Te (A4) and he carried this name (B4). He was another yahaw te (A5) of maybe the same person (B5) named at A3. (Linda) The lord of Bonampak sent two visitors to Yaxchilan.

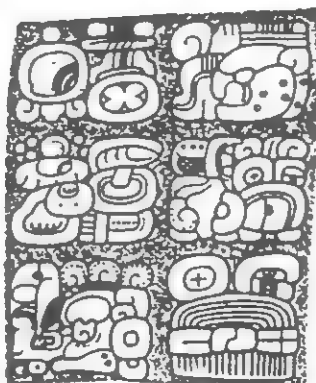


Fig.128

Then we have many of the accessions recorded on these lintels at Yaxchilan however many have no dates. In this case, we have a date here of 9.3.13.12.19 (Aug.7, 508) recorded on Yaxchilan Lintel 37 relating to the 9th king (Fig.129). The text continues here with yet and a name (B2) followed by K'uch Bah something, probably another name or title (A2). He is a yahaw te (B2) of a king called Jaguar Paw II (A3) of Tikal (B3).

K'uch Bah / name

Jaguar Paw II



yet / name

yahaw te

Tikal

Fig.129

(Linda) Now in the workbook I wrote it up that he is probably the name of the guy we just saw, but I have been thinking about that because this Jaguar Paw (A1 of Fig.124) has the date of 9.3.0.0.0 and then we have this intervening E Te king (B1 A2 of Fig.125) at 9.3.2.0.0. The date that we have at Yaxchilan is 9.3.13. (A1 of Fig.129), so you see the dates from 497 to 508 here. It looks to me, that it can't be this guy (the Jaguar Paw on Tikal Stela 7 (Fig.124); instead it was probably this guy on Tikal Stela 26 (Fig.130). His name is right here (D2) with the same Jaguar Paw and he is probably Jaguar Paw III.

Tikal Stela 26



Jaguar
Paw III

Fig.130

(Nikolai) Now we are going to move to Piedras Negras Lintel 2 (Fig. 131) which dates to 9.3.16.0.5 (Nov.11, 510). The event recorded is u ch'am (A2) "the taking of something" which is called ko (B2) hal (C1). Ko'hal is the word for "helmet." This means that we have the lord of Piedras Negras getting either a helmet or headdress at this time and this is the headdress of a warrior. The name of this early Piedras Negras king is this one recorded here at D1 and he is probably the same

one that is recorded here at B5 of Fig.128 from Bonampak. This name is recorded with a ya and a shark tooth (D1) and then ah ku (C2). He is an ahaw k'in (D2). "He takes the helmet" yichnal (E1) "in the company of" u (E2) k'a (F2) ba (G1) tun (H1) and it is the name of the stone. In fact this could be kab stone which is the Maya word for "hand." Next we have och k'in (G2) chak te (H2) and that is the war title. This then, is the handstone of that war title.

Piedras Negras Lintel 2

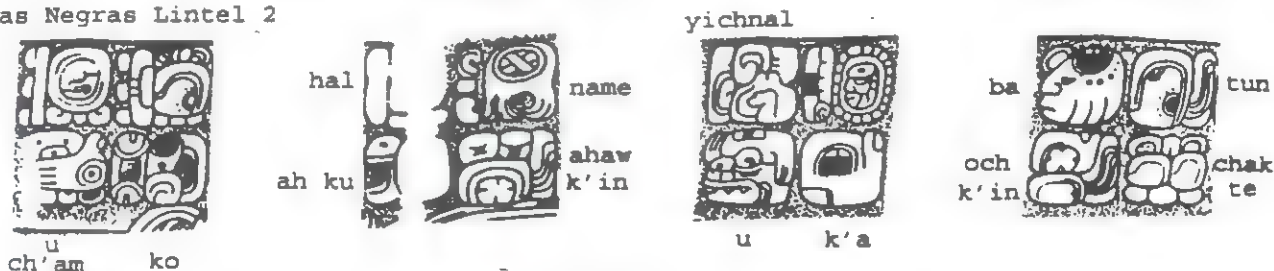


Fig.131

(Linda) This is retrospective history. This doesn't mean that Piedras Negras is doing this early, but for the later kings (around 9.11) Piedras Negras sees itself as joining into this complex of war iconography and it is closed up at about this time. Remember, at about this time we have Copan coming in. We have Machaquila coming in. We have Cancuen coming in. It appears that at this time the war complex was spreading like mad out of the central Peten and all over the place.

(Nikolai) Except for the visit recorded at Yaxchilan, we don't yet have major interaction, but we are about to get it. This is also retrospective history recorded at Yaxchilan (Fig.132). This is probably the earliest capture event recorded in the Maya corpus. I don't think that there is anything earlier than this. This is from Hieroglyphic Stairway 3 at Yaxchilan. Here we have chukyi (A2) and then the name of the captive is Etznab Xutel (B2) K'an Tok' Luk. (Linda) Luk may be the word for "spearthrower" in Tzeltal. (Nikolai) Tok' may be another word for "cloud." In any case, this is the name of the captive. He is from this site (B3) and he is a Lacanja Ahaw Te. We are also told that yet "by the work of" ch'ahom "the scatterer" (A4) Knot Eye Jaguar (B4) is from Yaxchilan. (Linda) This is the guy who just acceded.

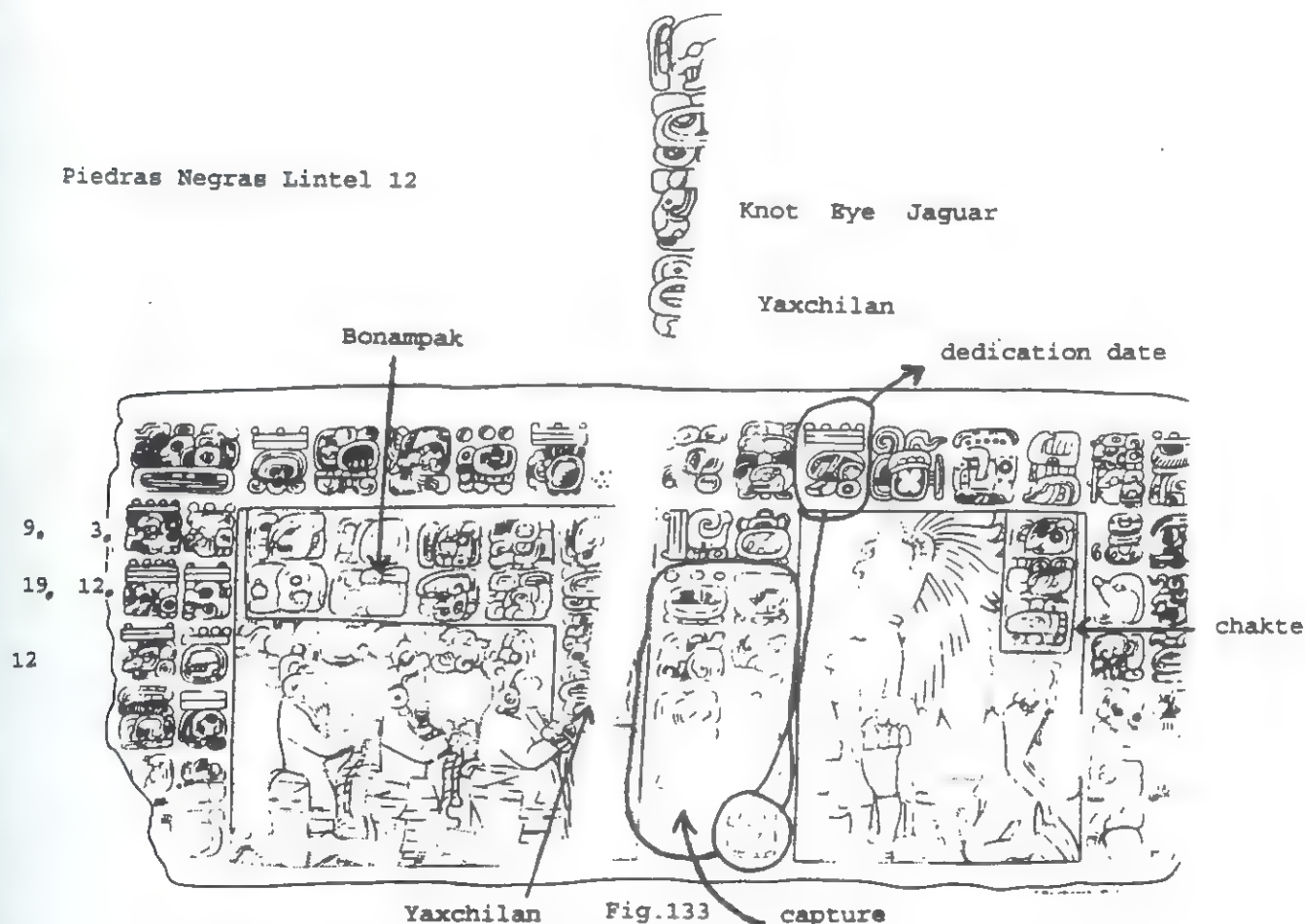
Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic Stairway 3



Fig.132

(Nikolai) This is Piedras Negras Lintel 12 (Fig.133) another early monument. There are three different dates on this monument. The Long Count date here is 9 (A2). 3 (B2). 19 (A3). 12 (B3). 12 (A4). The next date is recorded here at H2-H7 and it is 9.4.3.0.17 (Oct.17, 517) which is also the maximum elongation of the Morning Star. The last date is here (I7-J1) and that is 9.4.3.10.1 (Apr.19, 518). This lintel is a problem because it's a very explicit representation of four captives taken apparently by the king of Piedras Negras who is wearing the Piedras Negras war helmet. He is a chakte as recorded in the text panel behind him at V3. We can not identify all of the captives. The names are written in four glyphs above each. They each seem to have emblem glyphs with their names. This one for example seems to be the emblem glyph for Bonampak R2. Here I can't tell what it is (T2). Here in the left half of U4 you can see the Yaxchilan emblem glyph and here is our Knot Eye Jaguar (U3) as he appears as a captive to the king of Piedras Negras. Unfortunately, we do not know when the date of the war took place. (Linda) I think we can deduce it. Here we have the date at 9.4.3.0.17. Then this date over here is clearly the dedication date of a building (I7 J1). This verb which should be recorded in the middle area where the text is eroded should be the one for the capture.

Piedras Negras Lintel 12



(Nikolai) Yaxchilan and Piedras Negras are relatively close together along the Usumacinta River. It seems by this time Yaxchilan, which had emerged as an independent city before, became more and more involved in the Piedras Negras polity. It gradually was losing its autonomy. For a very long period of time, over most of the Classic Period, between 9.5 and the accession of Shield Jaguar, we have no monuments erected at Yaxchilan any more. We can reconstruct the history of Yaxchilan from text references, but Yaxchilan is not a major politically active center and this is probably because Piedras Negras was the dominant polity in

the region. This is the monument which establishes this dominion by Piedras Negras over Yaxchilan.

CALAKMUL JOINS THE EARLY CLASSIC BATTLES (9.4.0.0.0 - 9.6.8.4.2)

(Linda) Since time is running out, we want to get all the players onto the field. So now we are going to bring Calakmul in. (Nikolai) We will begin with a monument still at the site, Calakmul Stela 43, which has the very first date recorded so far for Calakmul (Fig.134). The date is 9.4.0.0.0 (Oct.16, 514). The text is relatively boring. Here we have ts'apah for the "erection of a monument" (B2). This may be the name of the monument here (A3) and the name of the king who erected this monument is introduced by this title (B3). His name is here (A4). I think in these broken glyphs further down in the text there was a Calakmul emblem glyph (A5-A7).

Calakmul Stela 43

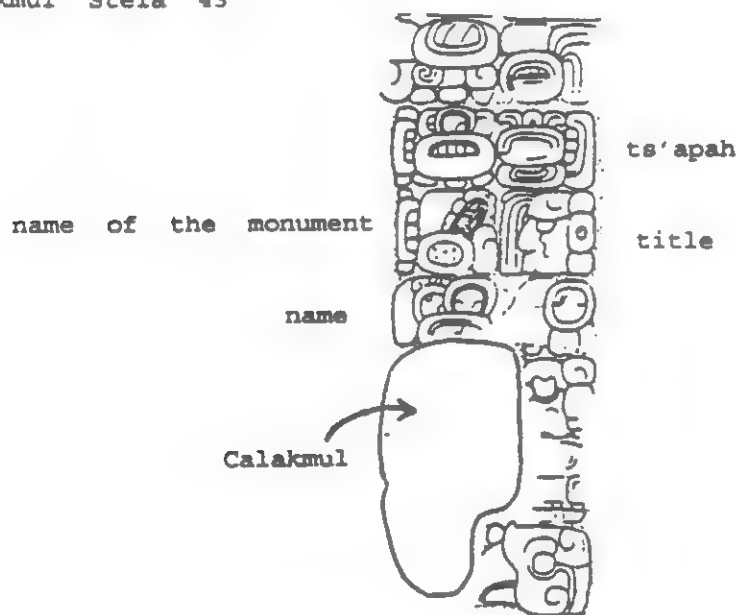


Fig.134

By the same time, 9.4.0.0.0, Caracol erected a k'atun ending stela, Caracol Stela 13 (Fig.135). There isn't too much to say about this monument either. Somewhere in here it mentions the name of the person who erects the stela (A4-B6). Caracol by that time had already begun to use its toponym which is Ox Witz Ahaw (B6) or the "three hill place." Then we may have the parentage of the king recorded here (B7 A8). (Linda) The parentage phrase is important because it establishes the fact that there was another king earlier.

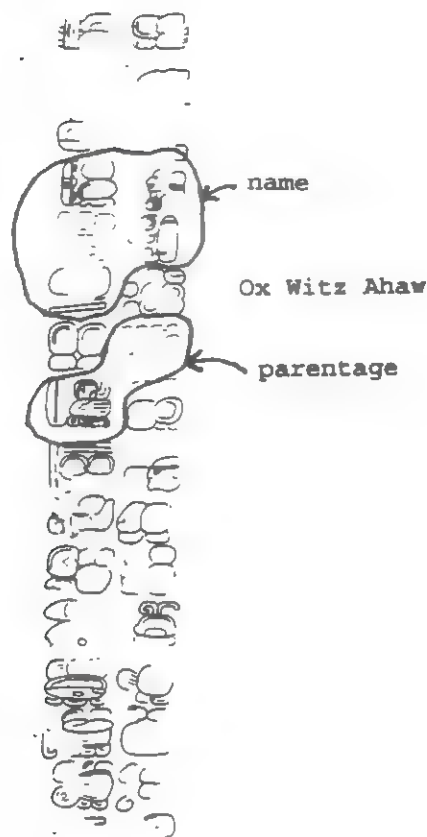


Fig.135

(Nikolai) This is a text from a small altar (El Peru Altar 1), now in the Dallas Museum of Art (Fig.136). Ian Graham has said that this altar came from the site of El Peru, which is a large site. (Peter Mathews) I am not aware that Ian says that. The attribution is given on the basis of the early identification of the Site Q emblem glyph. We have never found any parts of the monument at El Peru. (Nikolai) Well, that's an interesting take. If it's not from El Peru it changes some of our conclusions, but in any case this altar and its text do not seem to be from Calakmul itself. The text begins with a date of 9.4.5.6.16 (Feb.3, 520). What happens is that we have a female here (A2 B3) and she is called the yatan "the wife of" (A3) a person who is named here (B4 C1). He is called a "divine king of Calakmul" (D1).

El Peru Altar 1

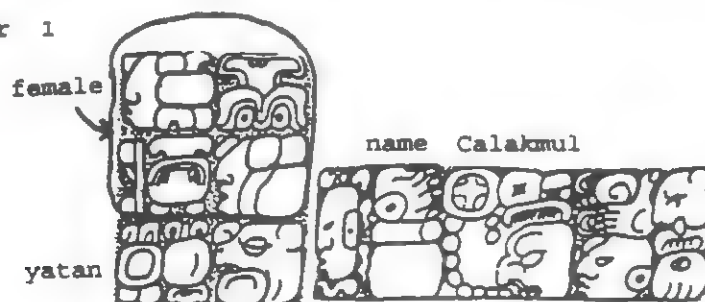


Fig.136

This means that Calakmul is beginning to use the politics of royal

marriage to establish its political alliances. (Dicey Taylor mentions here that this piece definitely came from Calakmul.)

(Linda) Now let's do one more. This is Tikal Stela 10 (Fig.137). This text passage has been redrawn by me because the published drawings of this monument are unreadable. We can't understand a lot of what's going on, but we have seating (A2) as ahaw (B2) here and probably a tzuk indentification there (B4). The date that has been reconstructed for this area is 9.4.13.0.0 (Aug.9, 527) which is just after the marriages that we had going on in the last text. Here it looks like we have some gods named up here in this area (C2 D2) and this on the monument clearly reads ch'akah (D3). It can mean "to decapitate and to chop" and it can also mean "to damage things." What was damaged was the u kun (second half of D3) "the seat of" Ma Sul Ahaw (C4) or Mas Ahaw. We can not say for sure where the Mas was, but mas ends up in the titles of rulers' names at Rio Azul and Calakmul. There is some possibility that this is the first sign of hostility between Calakmul or a Calakmul satellite and Tikal.

Tikal Stela 10

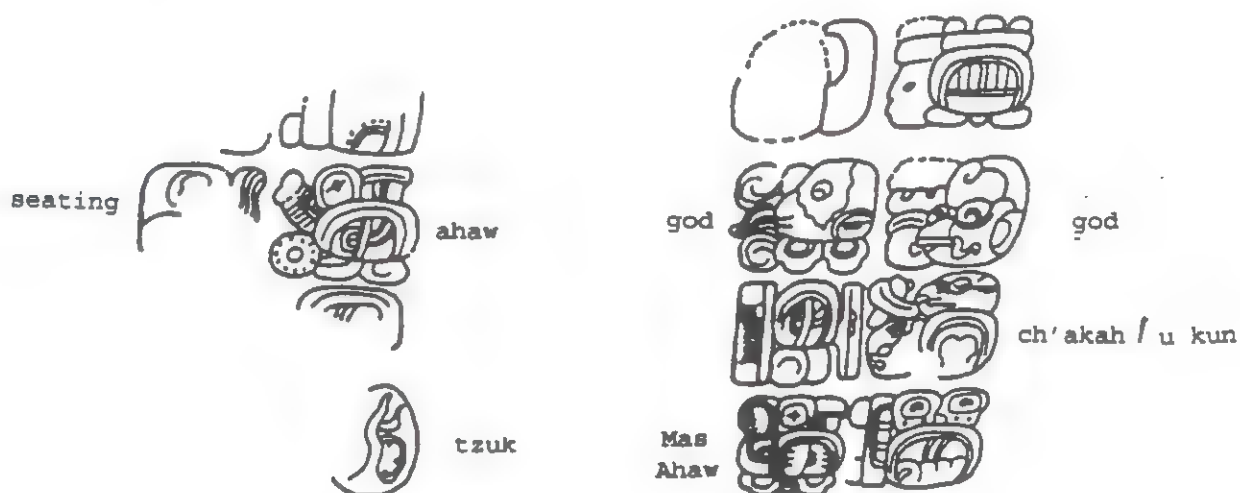


Fig.137

END OF DAY ONE
5:00 PM

SUNDAY, MARCH 13, 1994
9:10 AM

(Linda) I wasn't kidding yesterday when I said that there are Maya beginning to work with the texts. This was done by a ten year old Maya (Fig.138). This is a drawing of a Maya king and this is his signature at the bottom.



Fig.138

(Nikolai) Yesterday we stopped with the 9.4.13.0.0 date from Tikal. We are now going to go 3 years earlier (9.4.10.0.0 Aug.24, 524) to a very distant site called Nim Li Punit (Fig.139) in the Toledo District of southern Belize. On Stela 15, which is the stela with the longest text at Nim Li Punit, is a back reference. The stela was erected at 9.14.10.0.0, however if you go back 10 k'atuns earlier you will arrive at the date 12 Ahaw (A1) in the 4th k'atun and the 10th tun (B1). This text was important for Nim Li Punit historically because they "planted a stela" u tz'ap tun (B3). The person who "planted the stela" was this person (B4) Chak U Nan. This here (B5) was probably "his sixth succession" or the "sixth time that he was doing this." May be it was the sixth stela he erected at Nim Li Punit because here is tz'ap tun again (B6). We are not sure what the next glyph is (B7), but this last glyph (B8) could probably be a form of the Nim Li Punit emblem glyph. This is only to show you that this part of southern Belize, by this time, had become very important and had erected its own monuments.

Nim Li Punit Stela 15

12 Ahaw



4th k'atun

10th tun

u tz'ap tun

Chak U Nan

his sixth
succession

tz'ap tun

Fig.139

We will now stay in Belize. At 9.4.16.13.3 (April 13, 531) at the site of Caracol a king, who is known as K'an I or Tum Ol K'inich which means "The K'inich Prophet", acceded to the throne (Fig.140). This is written in this extremely eroded passage on Caracol Stela 15. The name glyph of the king is written here (A1 and C1 D1). I think there was an accession glyph here (B1). I am going to examine this monument in Philadelphia where I hope I can confirm the accession reading here for a very important king. He became the father of the king who made war against Tikal at a later date.

Caracol Stela 15

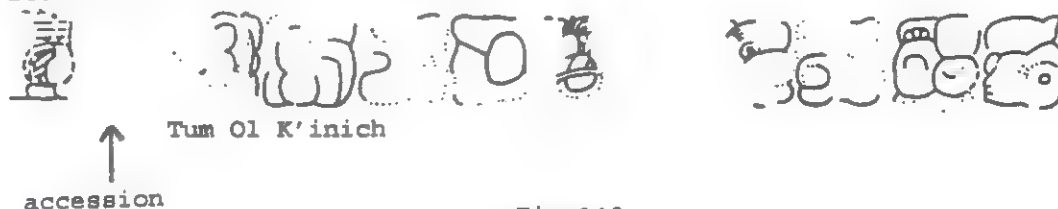


Fig.140

We are now going to look at another monument from Caracol (Fig.141). This is the back side of Caracol Stela 16 which is also in the University Museum in Philadelphia. The date is 9.5.0.0.0 (July 13, 534). This monument has a very long text with only this one date recorded. For some time, we did not know who the agent was on this monument, but Steve Houston identified this (A3) as a version of the k'inich glyph. This is the name of the king here and its Tum Ol K'inich (B3). Somewhere below this we had other verbs which are gone. There are other titles too. Caracol had three protector gods and they are introduced by this glyph here (A6) that reads u k'ul "the gods of" and then we get the name of the gods. Here we have Ox K'ul something (B6) or the "three divine something." Here we have the name of the protector gods. This is one (A7). This is another one (B7) and here's another one (A8) along with the next glyph that reads ho na chan ahaw (B8) and if that is the case, then the glyph just before this (A8) should be the name of the Jaguar Paddler God. The toponym of Caracol was called Ox Witz (C4) which meant that Caracol was the city of the "Three Mountains." This may have to do with the fact that Caracol had three protector gods. I am not sure what this glyph is (A9), but then we have the "tun setting" (B9). We will then have a name introducing glyph (A10) followed by the name of another person (B10 A11). We do know exactly who this person was. May be it was a minor lord of Caracol who was given the right to erect a monument. Then his parentage is given in B11. Here we are told that he is "the child of the mother" yal and then the mother's name would have followed below A12 B12 continuing up here (C1 D1). Probably in this extremely eroded part of the text (C2-D4) there was the name of the father of this minor lord. Here we have the Caracol toponym (C4) Ox Witz. The text then continues with a dedication (D4) phrase for the dedication of either a building or as it seems here to be a bloodletter. The person who did this event is named in these glyphs here (C5-C6). He carries the k'inich title (D6) also and he was a yitah (C7) or "the companion" of another person who is named in these glyphs (D7-D8). He was an ahaw of a site called "Flint Mountain" (C9). The glyph is composed of two small signs that are abbreviated flint signs followed by the witz glyph. By the way, this is the same emblem glyph for Naj Tunich or the same place name for Naj Tunich. The same glyph is also used in Xultun as a kind of emblem glyph. We have no idea yet whether it refers to either Naj Tunich or to Xultun. It could possibly be another place. Then we have u ts'akabil (D9) "he succeeds or follows to" the k'ul tz'at "divine artist" (C10) followed by a series of titles (D10-C12) that begin with winik (D10) thus calling him a "master of men." The person (D12) who carries this title is king of Copan. Here is the Copan emblem glyph (C13) with the bat hea as the main sign with a pi suffix, which always goes with the Copan emblem glyph. The Copan emblem glyph seems to read Xupi and in this case it is followed by an ahaw title written here (D13). The person who was the Xupi Ahaw is this person (D12) and we can identify him from the texts at Copan. That is really an extraordinary thing.

He is the 7th king of Copan and his name is "Waterlily Jaguar." His name is recorded at this same time on Copan Stela E, Stela 15, and on the Hieroglyphic Stairway. So he was the contemporary ruler of Copan. Copan and Caracol obviously had contacts. The nature of this change event is not quite clear, but Linda and I think that somehow this kind of yitah relationship changes from the Lord of the Flint Mountain to the Lord of Copan.

Caracol Stela 16

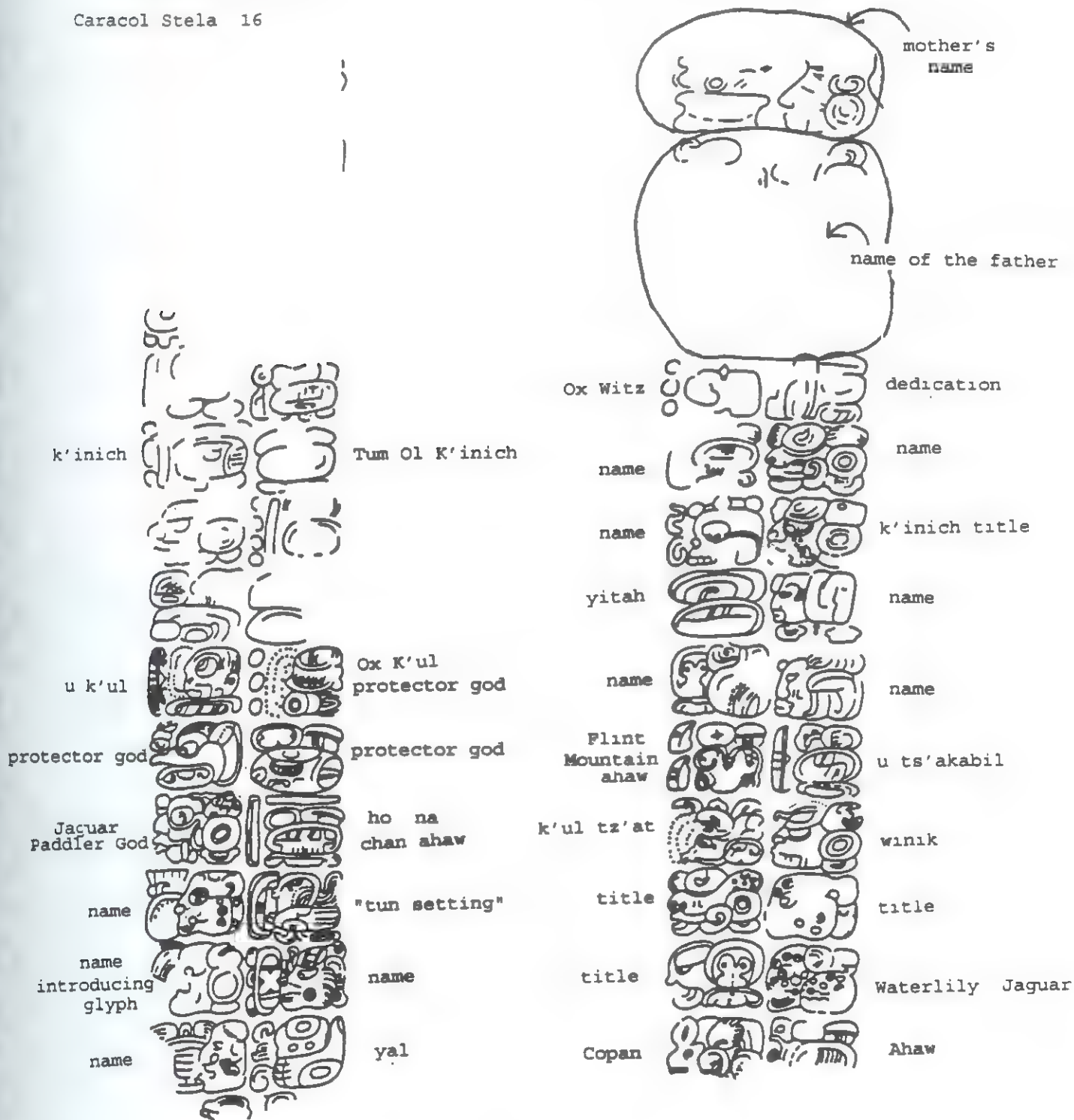


Fig. 141

(Linda) In the next text that we are going to look at, we go back to Yaxchilan. What we are going to see now, with this Yaxchilan text, is the beginning of the weaving of the spiderweb that is going to enclose Tikal. This is where the lords of Calakmul, in ways that were considered prestigious and important enough for the kings of many different sites, record it in their own histories. They then record the contact and the beginning or setting up of these major alliances. This set of Early Classic lintels was first sorted out by Peter Mathews. We are now at the 10th Successor (A1 B1) on Yaxchilan Lintel 35 (Fig.142) which dates to 9.5.2.10.6 (Jan.14, 537). His name was Tan Bak K'inich (A2) and he was a lord of Yaxchilan (B2). Then we have the date for this monument here (A3 B3). Then we have the verb here (A4) which stands between the local lord at Yaxchilan and these visitors. It appears to be the yet verb or yeteh verb, but we do not know how it's working to talk about relationships. It might be "companion" or some other thing like that. The critical thing is what follows. It is the name of the person we are talking about (B4 A5). (Nikolai) This person's name is Na Wa Ka La or Na Wakal (B4). Wak, as you will see later, is the name of the El Peru polity. (Linda) Here is the u yahaw te (B5) and what we have following is the name of a ruler who we have called from identifications at Copan Ku'ix (the glyph is composed of the flathand with the kawak in it and an ix sign as an eye of a jaguar down below). He is the king of Calakmul (A6). Now this guy, Ku'ix, is one who played a very important and repeated role in the politics of this period of time in the Peten. Unfortunately we have not been able to identify him on Calakmul monuments yet, but I suspect that if we get some good drawings of Calakmul monuments it will not be so difficult.

Yaxchilan Lintel 35

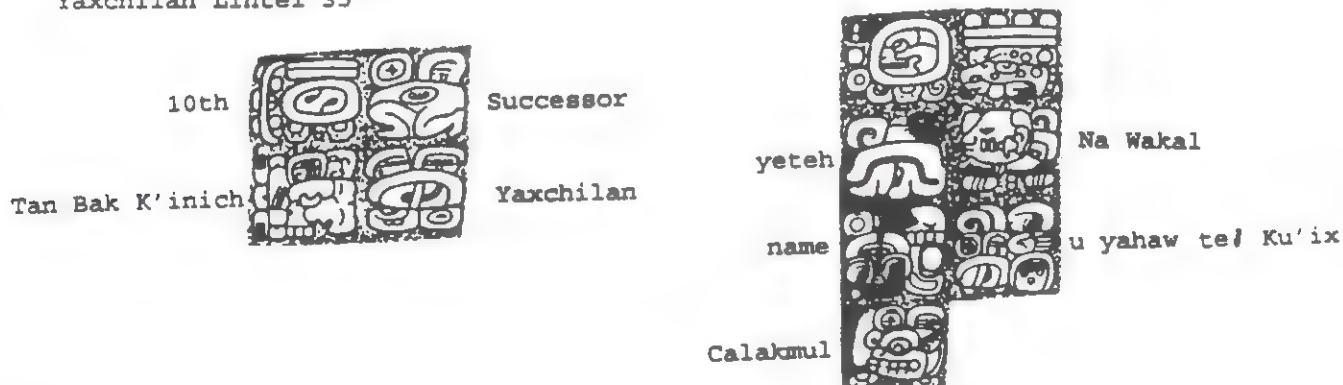


Fig.142

Now we go back to Tikal Stela 17 (Fig.143). The date after the Initial Series Introductory Glyph is 9 (B1). 5 (A2). 3 (B2). 9 (A3). 15 (B3) or 9.5.3.9.15 (Dec.29, 537). The text here is pretty badly eroded, so it makes for a problem. This is Yax Mutul (B5) and since the Calendar Round is here (A4 B4) I have suspected that this was the verb (A5). As you can see however, there isn't much left. We also have a Tikal emblem glyph here (B9) and so I assumed that all of this material in between the first emblem glyph and the second is probably the name of the king (A6-A9). His name is here (B8) and when I first identified him I nicknamed him "Double Bird." I doubt that was his real name. When we go up to the top of the monument you can see that he was the 21st (C1) Successor (D1) tz'akab. This is a title here (C2) and this is the name Yax Moch Xok (D2), but Nikolai tells me now that there is a much better reading for that glyph. It is Yax Chak Te Xok. Then we have a 13 or 14 numbered title that ends up being with title phrases of Tikal rulers (C3). What this tells us is that we are not dealing with the 21st Successor of the Founder because this guy right here (D2) is the Founder of the ruling dynasty at Tikal. Then we have

a glyph that is either a verb (D3) or a possessed eccentric flint in its head variant form followed by u pakal (C4) and a title or name here (D4). This is the Flint Mountain lord polity (C5) that we just saw at Caracol. This doesn't tell us if this is Naj Tunich or whether it's Xultun. We do know that it's associated with Caracol. It's either a part of the Caracol polity or it's an ally of Caracol. This means that there is something going on here where this guy claims to possess or to do something to the flint shield or the war banner of this place. (Nikolai) We do have inscription on the back of a mirror (Fig.144) naming the same site. Here we have two people seated. One of the individuals is called a sacun (C1) "older" winik "brother" (D1). He is a ch'ok "child" (E1) and here is his name (D2 E2). Here is his title (D3) and it's the Flint Mountain glyph. This mirrorback was made at approximately the same time and this person certainly comes from this same site. (Linda) The person named at E2 on the mirrorback could possibly be the same one at D4 on the Tikal stela. Now let's go back to Tikal Stela 17. This is probably a titular reference here (C6-C7) that records his mother's name and he is "the child of" (D7). This is his father's name (C8-C9). Here is the name Jaguar Paw (C9) and so the problem is which one is it since there are two Jaguar Paws in the time preceding this one. Is it the same Jaguar Paw on Stela 26 or is it the same Jaguar Paw who is at 9.3.0.0.0? There is no real way to tell.

Tikal Stela 17

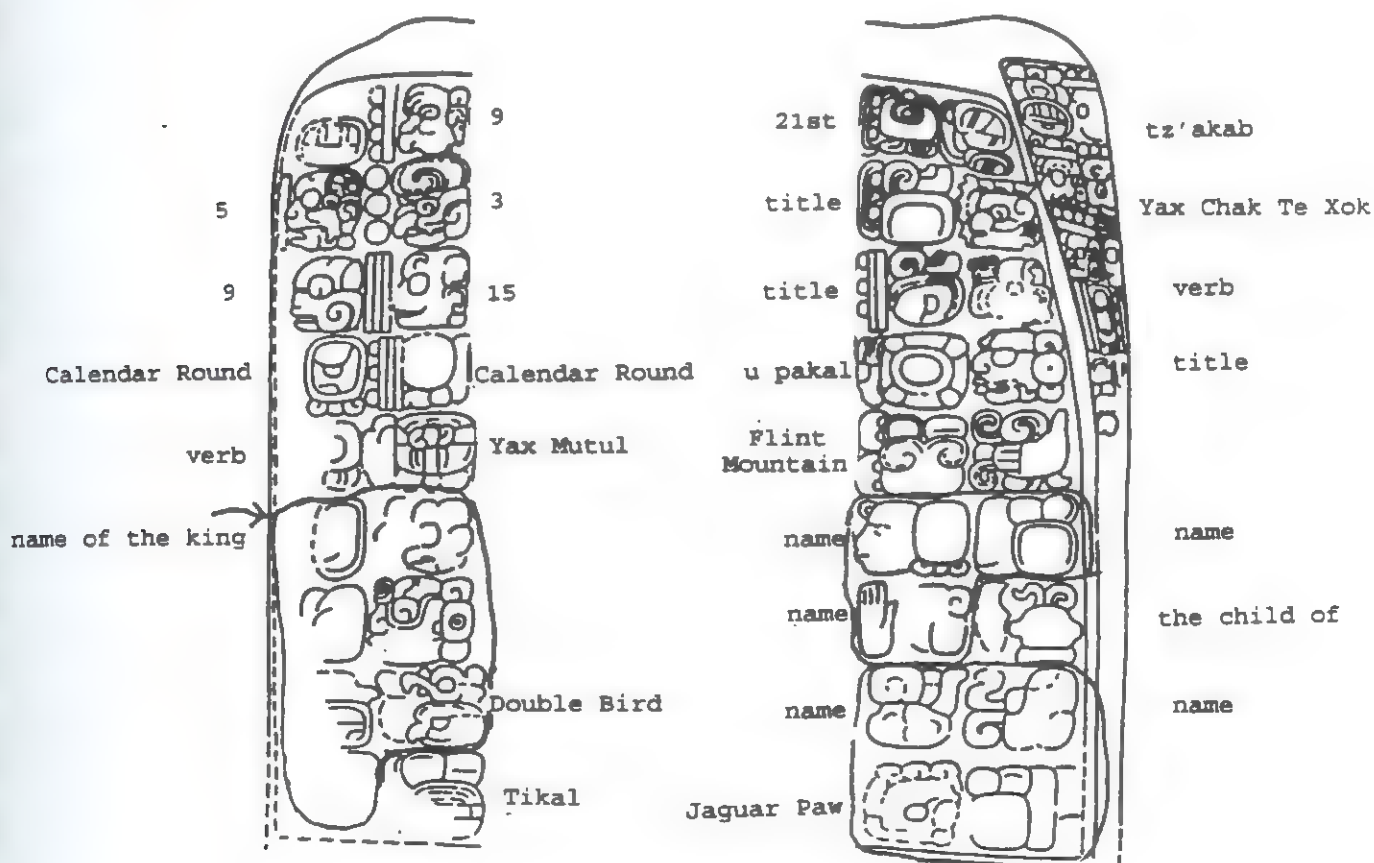


Fig.143



mirrorback inscription

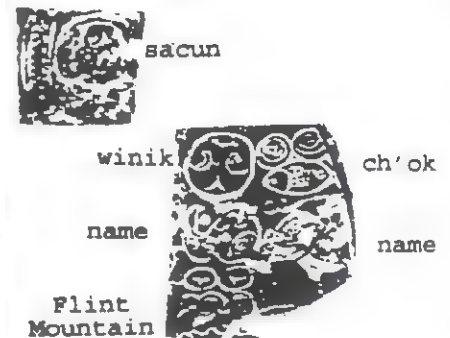


Fig.144

We can take this to be directly a war event, but what is happening here I think is that the king of Tikal at this time is bragging that in some way he possesses or controls the tok' pakal of this guy from the Flint Mountain place. The Flint Mountain place is either an ally or a part of Caracol. The only way that the Tikal ruler could control that tok' pakal is if he went to war and captured it. So that means that this is the beginning or the first time chronologically of the conflict between Caracol and Tikal.

Now here's another interesting thing too! Remember, we have already had one ruler from Naranjo that we saw at 9.2.0.0.0. Now we go back to Naranjo (Naranjo Stela 25) (Fig.145) and we get the date 9.5.12.0.4 (May 5, 546). It's really important for you to understand the dates here. On 9.5.2.10.6 (Yaxchilan Lintel 35) Ku'ix is going to Yaxchilan and all of a sudden nine and a half years later on 9.5.12.0.4 (Naranjo Stela 25) we go to Naranjo to a statement that is relatively difficult to analyze because it's done in a very strange way. The Calendar Round is here (A1 B1) and Peter Mathews back in 1974 identified the probable accession date of what was thought then to be Ruler 1 of Naranjo, but now has to be Ruler 2. The text continues with u kahi (A2) "he did it" and the name is Ku'ix (B2) the Calakmul Ahaw (A3) (the ahaw is the scarf and there are two ka signs in front of the snake head. Make sure that you pronounce this sign k'an instead of chan). We have taken this to be the accession of the second ruler of Naranjo that we have in the historic record by the action of this same guy at Calakmul. This to me means that he allied himself with Yaxchilan on one side of Tikal and then he goes to other side of Tikal and he installs the next king of Naranjo.

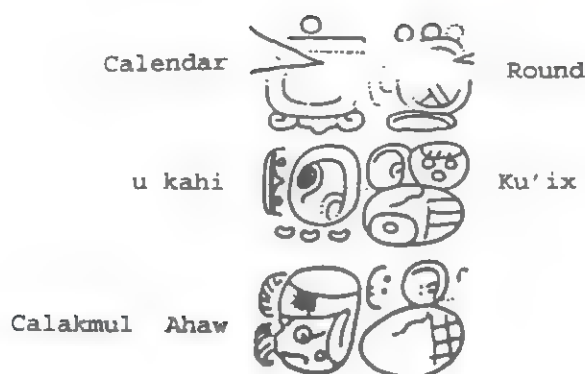


Fig.145

(Nikolai) And as a reaction to this Tikal decides to do something similar. Seven years later the king of Tikal inaugurates a king of Caracol. (Linda) He may have been able to do that, because he defeated him and took Caracol's tok' pakal. (Nikolai) This is Caracol Stela 14 which dates to 9.5.19.1.2 (April 16, 553) (Fig.146). Here we have that opening date (A1 B1). This is a very simple accession statement. This is the name of the king here (J) Yahaw Te K'inich.

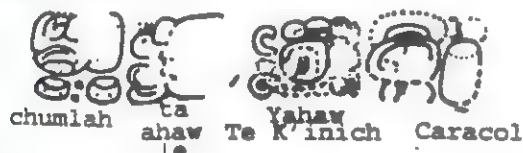
Caracol Stela 14



Fig.146

This text (Fig.147) is a bit clearer. The top row in Fig.147 comes from Caracol Stela 6 and the bottom row comes from Caracol Altar 21. Again these all have the same event and date. Here is the chumlah (A) "he seated himself" followed by ta ahaw le "into the kingship" (B) Yahaw Te K'inich (C). Then we have K'ul Kan Tumak (D) or the Caracol emblem glyph. This is followed by u kahi (E) and then we have the name of the Tikal king who did it (F). Finally, we have the Tikal emblem glyph. This means that we have a Caracol king acceding under the auspices of a Tikal king.

Caracol Stela 6



Caracol Altar 21



Fig.147

This is Caracol Altar 21 (Fig.148) and for years very heavy logging trucks had drove over it and virtually destroyed many parts of the monument. This is what it looks like now.

Caracol Altar 21

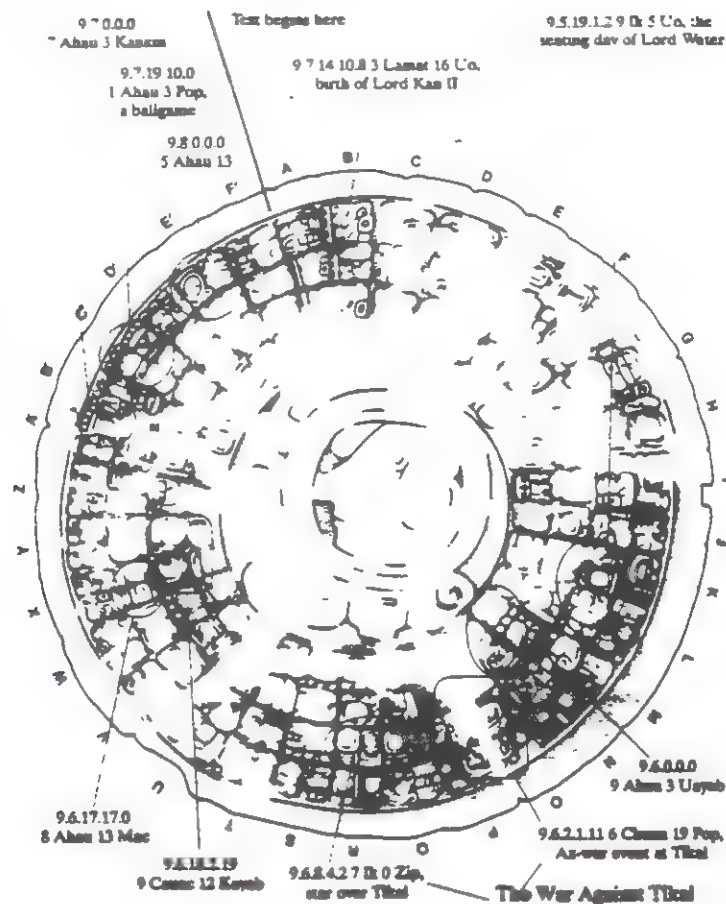


Fig.148

We have a Period Ending monument from Caracol, Stela 14 (Fig.149) that marks the passage of 9.6.0.0.0 (Mar.20, 554). There is nothing special about it except that the three protector gods of Caracol are addressed here in these glyphs (B2-B4). The king who did it is named here (B7-A9).

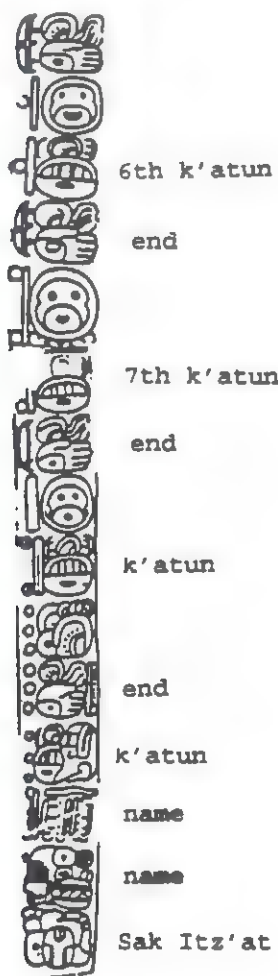
Caracol, Stela 14



Fig.149

(Linda) Now these passages that are here (Fig.150) I am not going to do too much with. I put them in here simply to let you see that here on Naranjo Stela 25 (left) and Altar 21 (right) the person who is known as Ruler 1 of Naranjo is really Ruler 2. I guess that means that the one before him is Ruler -1. He celebrates and records what may be the first k'atun history in that here he records the end of the 6th k'atun (A3). This is the end of the 7th k'atun (A6). This is the end of the next k'atun (A9) and so on until we get his name here (A13). He basically records a series of k'atun endings and the important thing also to notice here is that he calls himself either the Sak Chuen or Sak Itz'at (A14) which is a very specific title that goes with the Naranjo lords that we will see over and over. On Altar 21 we have the same set of Period Endings recorded. Here is the completion (B6) of the 8th k'atun (A7). Here's his name (B7). Here's his title (A8) and he was "the child of" (B8) followed by his mother's name (A9-A10). He was "the child of" (B10) followed by his father's name (A11). This then should be the name of Ruler -1.

Naranjo Stela 25



Naranjo Altar 21

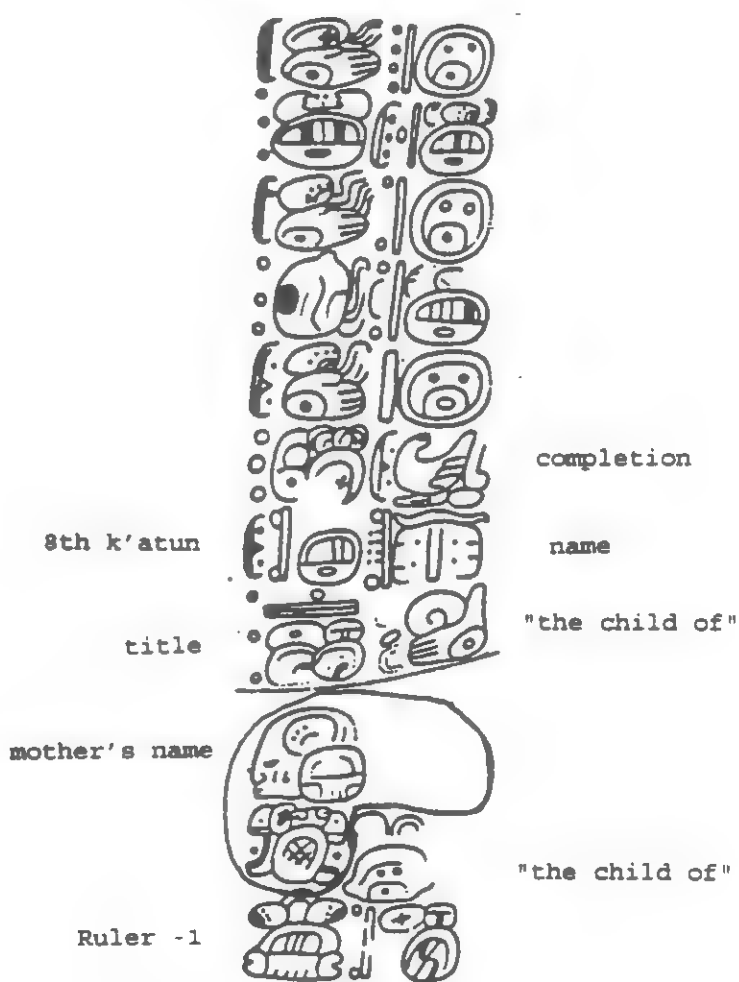


Fig.150

(Nikolai) If you recall, the last Caracol king was placed into power by the king of Tikal. This is the next event that follows (Fig.151) and it's on Caracol Altar 21. Something had happened in this relationship. This passage dates to 9.6.2.1.11 (April 9, 556) (A1-D1). Here we have a *ch'ak* verb (A2) or a "decapitation" and this glyph here is a *k'ul k'an* followed by *tu mak*. So we have an attack against Caracol "by" *u kahi* and the name glyph is gone at A3, but that person has the Tikal emblem glyph. So a very few years after the Caracol king was placed into office by Tikal, Tikal decides to attack Caracol. This text is part of the royal rhetoric which introduces narrations of major wars.

Caracol Altar 21

11 (*k'in*), 1 *wina'k*, 2 *hab*
D.N. 2.1.11 since 9.6.0.0.0

ch'ak k'ul k'an
decapitation of

TI
nominal



6 Churwen 19 Pop (9.6.2.1.11)

tu mak u kahi
Caracol (person) by

k'ul mutul ahaw
Divine King of Tikal



Fig.151

(Linda) This is the other side of Tikal Stela 17 (Fig.152). It has the date 9.6.3.9.15 (Sept.15, 557) and that runs all the way down through here (A1-B7). This is probably the verb (A8). The problem here is that everything else is messed up. This is probably part of his name there (C1 D1), but it is so eroded that we can not tell what the events were. However this does tell us that Tikal recorded some local control history before the big battle. (Simon Martin points out here that this monument is not just eroded, but it appears to have been effaced.) One of the suggestions that Paul Mathews, one of my graduate students, has made concerning a record of war at Aguateca and Dos Pilas against Seibal is that they *ch'akah ts'ib* which means they "destroy the writing" and Seibal has no history prior to that war.

Tikal Stela 17

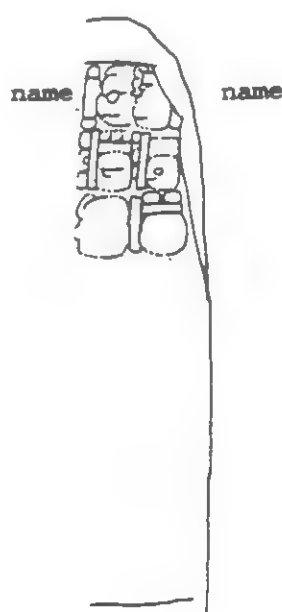
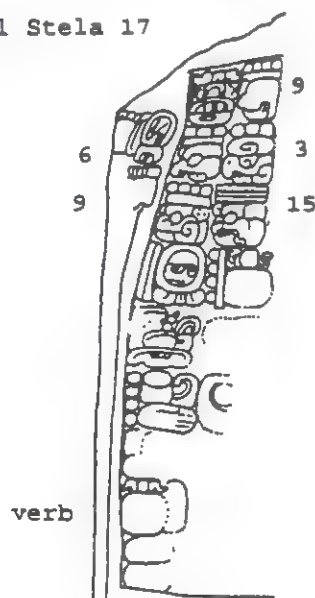


Fig.152

(Nikolai) Now what follows is a big bang. This is the earliest Star War recorded in the entire Maya lowlands as recorded on Caracol Altar 21 (Fig.153). It happens on 9.6.8.4.2 (April 29, 562). Here we have the Star War glyph (B2). This was a 'yi sign below it, which is a verbal suffix followed by the Tikal emblem glyph (A3). So there was a Star War against Tikal "by" u kahi (B3) and unfortunately we can not read the name of the agent (A4). The nominal phrase is not here and we can not identify the emblem glyph either (B4). Since the monument was discovered in 1986, until very recently, we all talked about this as a war by Caracol against Tikal. Simon and I have found out that the story is a little bit more complicated. There seems to be more agents involved in this interplay. When we checked this emblem glyph we have always arrived at the conclusion that it can not be the Caracol emblem glyph. The outlines are preserved on this monument and they do not match the Caracol emblem glyph. There is a good probability that this emblem glyph was the emblem glyph for Calakmul.

Caracol Altar 21

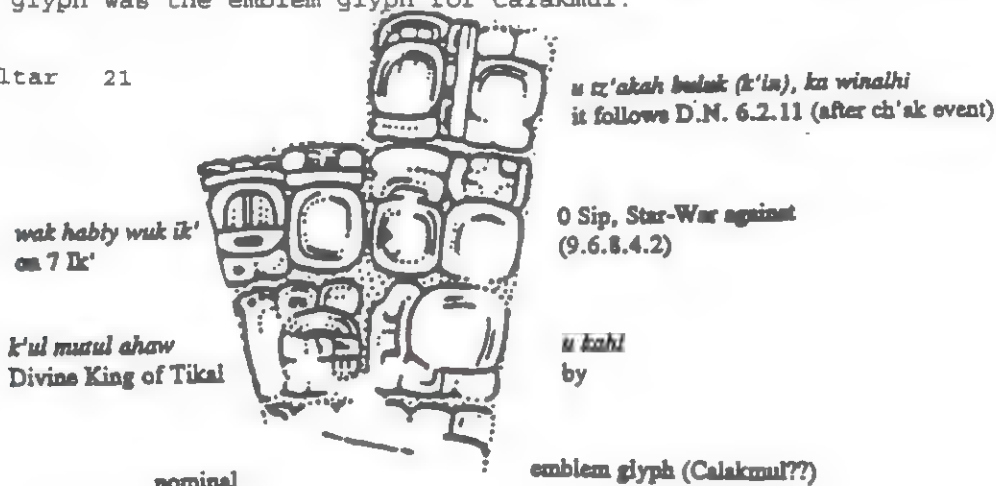


Fig.153

In fact, a little bit later in the text which also occurs in the same phrase, the Calakmul emblem glyph is indeed mentioned (Fig.154). The entire war phrase is the longest text on Caracol Altar 21. The text continues in an eroded part, but this glyph here (A3) is the Calakmul emblem glyph. You can see the snake head down here and the ka prefix. So in this same war phrase there is evidence that Calakmul was present at that time or connected somehow to Caracol.

Caracol Altar 21

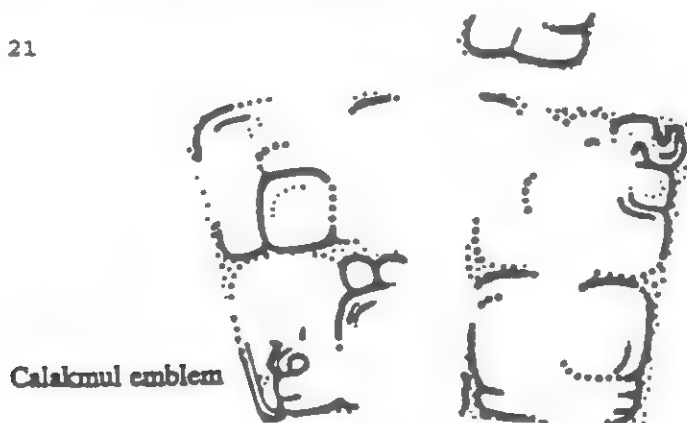
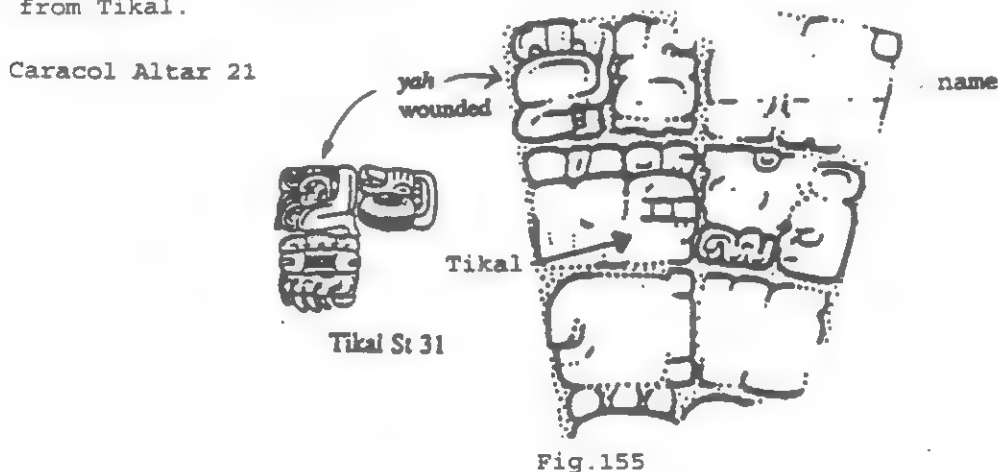


Fig.154

Simon and I first made the suggestion that this was the Calakmul emblem glyph and that there were Calakmul nominals in the eroded passage prior to the actual emblem glyph. We had to go back to the

original monument in order to find the names. The critical parts of the emblem glyph are gone today. So it might be very hard to prove our identification of the agent of the big bang to be Calakmul. But what we think is that Calakmul used Caracol as a vassal or as an ally which was much closer to Tikal than Calakmul to attack Tikal at a time when Tikal was already quite weak. There was a succession of relatively short-lived kings at Tikal. Back here on Altar 21 (Fig.155) we have yah (a ya sign over a hi sign) (A1) which is a verb for "to wound" and it is known from the 8.17.1.4.12 war event recorded on Tikal Stela 31. After this event no more monuments are erected at Tikal for a very long time. At the same time we find that many Early Classic monuments are broken and destroyed and in the case of Tikal Stela 17, they are deliberately effaced. Furthermore, most of the monumental activities seem to stop for a very long time. Tikal for about 80 or 100 years is not a major player in major politics anymore. So this war had real severe aspects on Tikal by destroying Tikal's possibility to be a Peten political player. (Linda) This looks to be a Tikal emblem glyph here (A2) and so the person named here (B1), the wounded one, was a person from Tikal.



LATE CLASSIC WARFARE (9.6.12.0.4 - 9.7.19.13.12)

The next piece of historical information that we have comes from Naranjo (Fig.156). This doesn't directly have to do with the war, but this date 9.6.12.0.4 (Jan.20, 566) is the first k'atun anniversary of the installation of this king by Ku'ix of Calakmul. It is celebrated here at Naranjo. There's his name (A4) and there's his emblem glyph (B4) and I think that this is the tzutzah hand for "the completion" of his k'atun (B3).

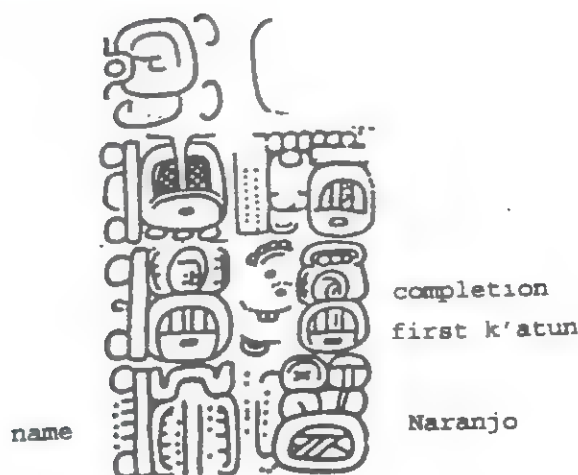


Fig.156

(Nikolai) At Caracol, a few years later, on Caracol Stela 3 (Fig.157) which dates to 9.6.12.4.16 (April 22, 566) we have a birth (A) of a Lady recorded. Her name is Lady Batz' Ek (B and first part of C). Dorie Reents was actually the first person to identify this name as a female name, but later on there was much discussion on whether she was a female or not because the head looks strange. Lady Batz' Ek carried the title K'ul Yax Ahaw (second part of C). We will see later why she really is a lady. This title is very important. It doesn't show up in many other places except on Stela 52 from Calakmul (Fig.158). Here you can see the Yax Ahaw (#16) and this may be evidence that this Lady is not a noble person, but was born somewhere in or around the Calakmul polity. The parentage of this lady is given in these following glyphs (D-F) and it is not yet fully understood.

Caracol Stela 3

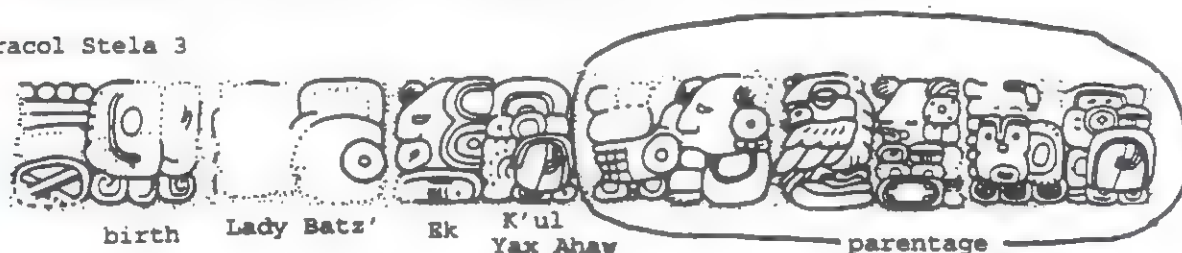


Fig.157

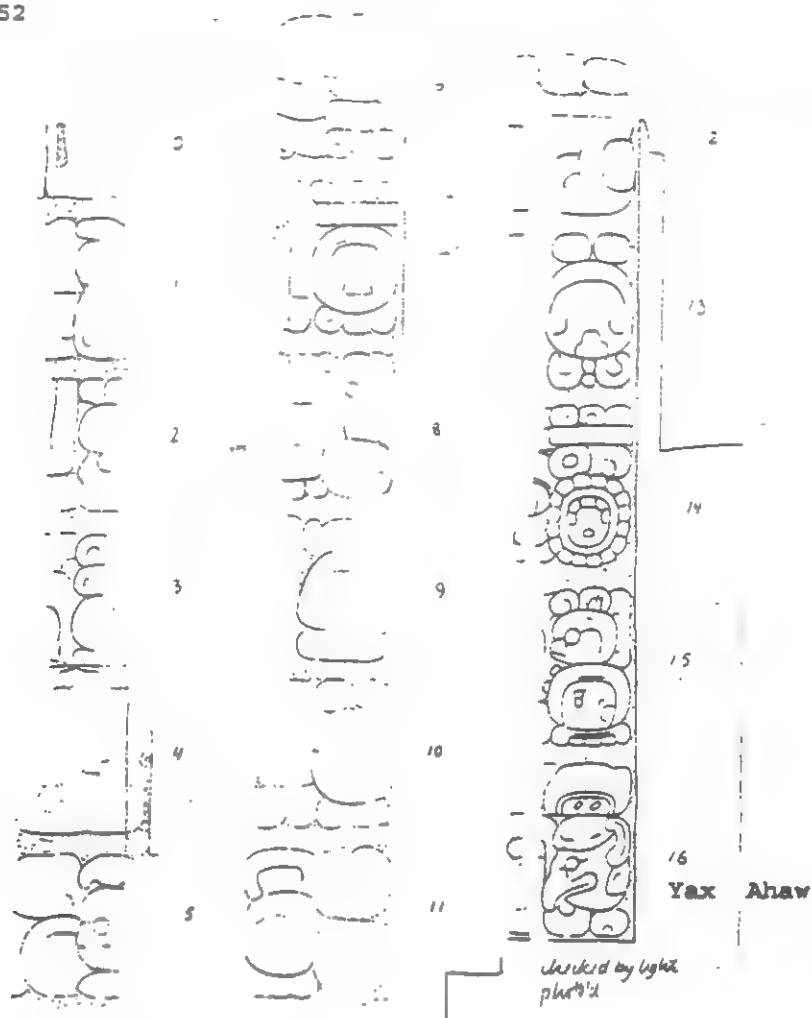


Fig. 158

At the same time in Belize we have this event recorded on the Altun Ha Jade Pendant (Fig. 159). This inscription dates to 9.6.15.6.4 (May 4, 569). It records a ch'ak event (A2) against someplace that we have not yet identified (B2), "by the doing of" u kahi (A3) K'inich (B3) Chak Pax (A4) which is the name of the king. This is a singular war event which can not yet be placed into context, but soon maybe we can identify this place and then we will be able to say how Altun Ha also became involved in the politics of the Peten.

Altun Ha Jade Pendant

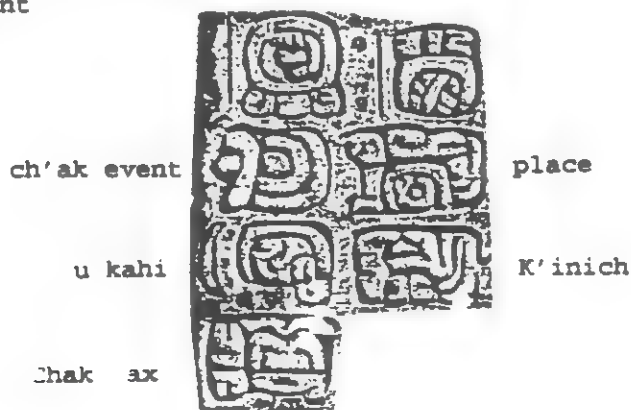


Fig. 159

Three years later on 9.6.18.2.19 (Feb.13, 572) we have another event recorded on Caracol Altar 21 (Fig.160). The nature of this event is unknown and we can not say a lot about it.

Caracol Altar 21



Fig.160

At about the same time or about 10 winals later on 9.6.18.12.0 (Aug. 12, 572) on Caracol Stela 3 (Fig.161) we have some kind of unknown event (B) that involves this king (C) recorded here from Calakmul. You can see the snake head with a ka sign in front of it and the k'ul superfix combined with the headband together makes this the Calakmul Ahaw or king. Simon was the first person to point out that the name of this king also occurs about 1 and a half k'atuns later in a war phrase from Palenque. So he was a very long-lived king.

Caracol Stela 3



event

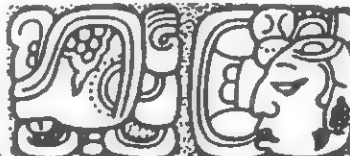
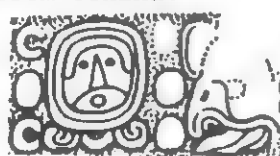


name Calakmul

Fig.161

I have also added this event from a throne found at Chinik'iha (Fig.162) which dates to 9.7.0.1.0 (Dec.25, 573), simply for completeness of the war record. Chinik'iha is in the Palenque zone or northern Chiapas. The event recorded is chukhi (C1) "it was captured or taken captive" and this is the name of the captive (D1). His name is A Po Nal or Po A Nal and this is the only place we know so far with a po toponym or emblem glyph, Tonina. This nal suffix is a locative suffix so it is possible that Chinik'iha made war against somebody or took captives from the Tonina area. This could also just mean Po Ahaw and so he was from Tonina.

Chinik'iha
throne



chukhi

name Po Ahaw

Fig.162

(Linda) Now we go to Naranjo Altar 1 (Fig.163) which dates to 9.7.3.3.17 (Feb.4, 577). The beginning of the text goes back into mythical time even before the last era event (4 Ahaw 8 Kumku) and talks about the accession of a deity generally called the Square-Nosed Beastie because we do not know what his name was. The text then comes forward to a series of very early Olmec time "conjuring events" and then it finally arrives at this event. This then sets up a supernatural basis for these actions. Here's the date 7 Ahaw (C1) 5 K'ayab (A2). This is a verb that David Stuart has read as pat tun which means "to form or to make special houses" (B2) followed by yax, and some interlocked weaving sign that we can't read and na "house." This is "done by" u kahi (C2) followed by the sign for 20 plus 15 to make the 35th tz'akab "successor" (A3). The ruler who is going to do this is

our Ruler 1 who is in fact the 9th Successor and his father was the 8th Successor, so this shows us that they are counting two successions, one from a divine ancestor, who operates in the time of previous creations and the other from a human Founder. Here's the name of the divine successor (B3). It is written with the Ek'sign "black" and here's the Square-Nosed Beastie lord. So the person who is doing the action is the 35th Successor or replacement for this god. Here's his name and it's probably Ah Wos (C3). He is also the replacement or Successor of (A4) the Paddler God (B4) and this is Na Ho Chan (C4) which is one of the creation places. The very last glyph is read sak tz'at (A5). The glyph consists of the sak sign and this is the elbow glyph with the chuen sign inside that is usually read as chuen because a little monkey head can replace it, but here it has the phonetic sign tz'a over the top of it so it's probably Sak Tz'at. Sak means "white or resplendent or clear" and tz'at is the word for "sage or it's the equivalent of our word, scientist." It refers to a person of very special knowledge.

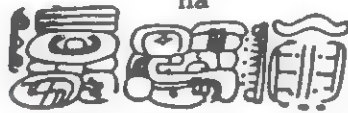
Naranjo Altar 1



7 Ahaw



5 K'ayab pat tun u kahi
yax
na



35th tz'akab god Ah Wos



Successor of Paddler God Na Ho Chan

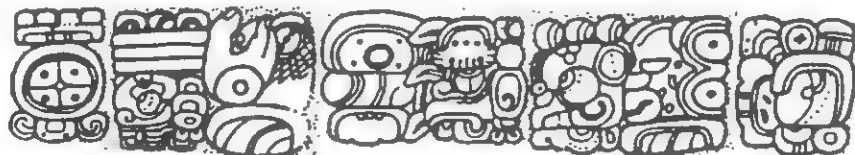


Sak Tz'at

Fig.163

(Nikolai) We now move back to Caracol and on to Stela 3 (Fig.164) which dates to 9.7.10.16.8 (Sept.6, 584). Here we have the "arrival" huli (C) Tan Kun "at the center or seat of" (E) Ox Witz "the "Caracol Place" (F) of Lady Batz' Ek' (G1) from Yax Ahaw (H1). So Lady Batz' Ek' who is a foreign woman comes to Caracol and what she does there we will see shortly.

Caracol Stela 3



huli

Tan
Kun

Ox Lady Yax Ahaw
Witz Batz' Ek'

Fig.164

We now go back to the Altun Ha Jade Pendant (Fig.165) which dates 9.7.11.2.17 (Dec.4, 584) and we have this event. The event is an accession, but it's the display of the war helmet as a part of becoming the possessor of the war helmet. This is the name of the king who accedes (B2). This maybe his emblem glyph for Altun Ha (A3). He

is "the child of" (B3) this lady (A4) and a "child of" (A6) this man (B6). This here is ahaw (B5) so this (A5) is probably a place name for the place the mother of the king probably came from.

Altun Ha Jade Pendant

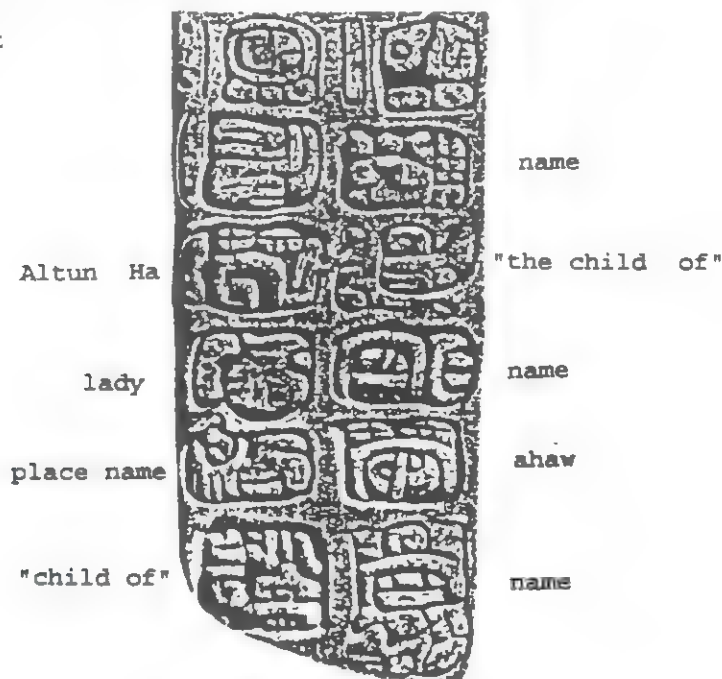


Fig.165

Lady Batz' Ek' had arrived at Naranjo from a place in the vicinity or in the polity of Calakmul. We have this panel from Naranjo (Naranjo Panel 1, Fig.166) that dates to 9.7.14.10.8 (Apr.18, 588)... This panel was built or carved in Naranjo after Naranjo was defeated by Caracol. It records the birth of the next king named Tum Ol K'inich from Caracol. This is a king who carries the same name as his grandfather, who was also a Tum Ol K'inich. This is the same 16 Wo glyph (A1) that is recorded here on Caracol Stela 3 (Fig.167) at B1. The same event which is recorded at Naranjo at C2-C3 is also recorded in two texts from Caracol itself. On Caracol Stela 3 (top figure of Fig.167) the birth of the king is written here (C). Here the king does not carry his real name (D), but a preaccession name which is Sak Ba Witz and here is the emblem glyph that reads K'ul Kan Tumak (E and F). The second place where this appears is on Caracol Altar 21 (bottom figure of Fig.167), but it is very eroded and I will not comment on it.

Naranjo Panel 1

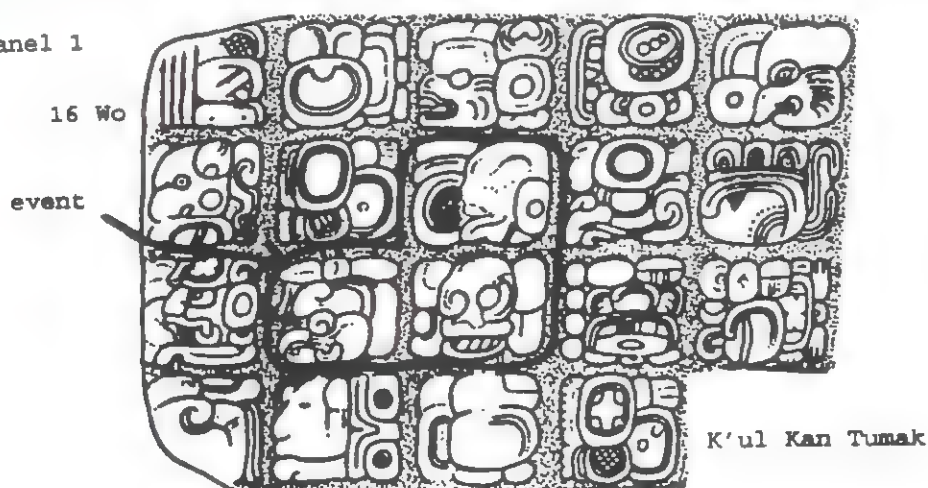


Fig.166

Caracol Stela 3



16 Wo



birth Sak Ba Witz



K'ul Kan Tumak

Caracol Altar 21



Fig.167

Well why was Lady Batz' Ek' so important at Caracol? What relation did she have to the new born king? This is also something that Simon Martin figured out. She is the mother of the next Caracol king or the next Tum Ol K'inich. This is the critical passage (Fig.168) from Naranjo Hieroglyphic Stairway 1. It's an extremely eroded step of the stairway. The entire stairway talks about events in the lives of the king Tum Ol K'inich. On one of the steps we find this parentage statement that says u bah u hun tan (A1) "he is the cherished one" which is a metaphoric expression for "he is the child of" and here we have the name of Lady Batz' Ek' (B1). This may be Yax Ahaw (A2), but it's too eroded to say for sure. Then we have the nich nal "he is the child of" and this is the father's name (B2). It is written Yahaw Te K'inich of K'ul Kan Tumak "the Caracol place." So Yahaw Te K'inich who did the war against Tikal, married a lady from the Calakmul area and as a result of this marriage they created the new king who was Tum Ol K'inich.

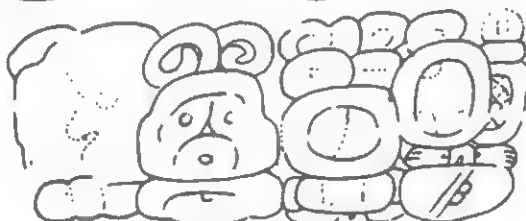
Naranjo Hieroglyphic
Stairway

u bah / u hun tan



Lady Batz' Ek'

Yax Ahaw / nich nal



Yahaw Te K'inich

K'ul Kan Tumak

Fig.168

Now back to Naranjo and Panel 1 (Fig.169). That same relation is spelled on this panel. This is now eroded, but here was the birth event (A2-A4). Here is the K'inich part of his name (A3). The name is restated here at B1-C1 followed by K'ul Kan Tumak. We have the name of Lady Batz' Ek' here (B4) with her title Yax Ahaw (C4). The father's name Yahaw Te K'inich is here (E3) followed by the Naranjo emblem glyph (D4). We have three very strange glyphs between the name of the child and the mother (C2-C3) and four strange glyphs between the name of the mother and father (D1-E2). These glyphs have to be substitutions of very unusual spellings of the parentage between Tum Ol K'inich and Lady Batz' Ek' and Yahaw Te K'inich. What it also shows us is that for Calakmul, the marriage politics were becoming more and more important as a way to integrate or to create allies and to establish bonds between polities which sent out brides into foreign dynasties which then became friendly allies.

Naranjo Panel 1

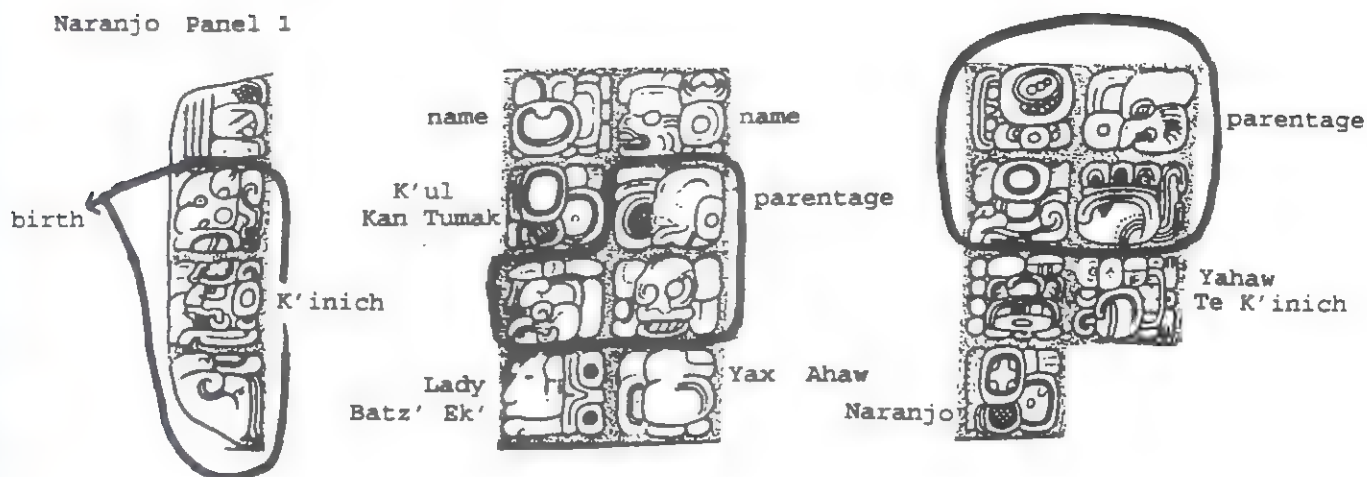


Fig.169

This is another event from Caracol on Altar 21 (Fig.170). The date seems to be 9.7.19.10.0 (Mar.15, 593). The verb is here (C) and it is a dedication phrase of a ballcourt. The glyph itself is a representation of the ballcourt and it even has a ball in the middle of the sign. This monument was found in the oldest part of Caracol. The person who does the dedication is named here (D) and his name was Ya something Chekah. From another text we know that he is the younger brother of Yahaw Te K'inich.

Caracol Altar 21



Fig.170

The next event in the life of Tum Ol K'inich II or K'an II, as he is known in the traditional literature, is this one recorded on Caracol Stela 3 (Fig.171). It dates to 9.7.19.13.12 (May 26, 593) and Tum Ol K'inich II is only 5 years old. What he does is here and it is the yax ch'amwil. This is "his first bloodletting" (C). Tum Ol K'inich II carries his preaccession name still and there is evidence that many kings in the Maya area change their name at the moment when they accede to the throne. He still uses his preaccession name which is Sak ba Witz (D). So his "first bloodletting" takes place u kahi "under the auspices of" (E) a 4 k'atun (F) ch'ahom "scatterer" ahaw (G). This may have been his father who was still alive.

Caracol
Stela 3

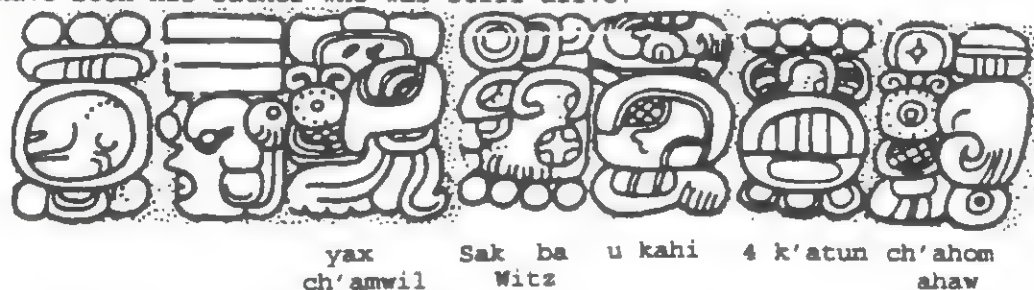


Fig.171

LATE CLASSIC WARFARE (9.8.0.0.0 - 9.8.19.11.16)

If his father was still alive at this time it's made obvious by this passage from Caracol Stela 1 (Fig.172) and Caracol Altar 21. This passage dates to 9.8.0.0.0 (Aug.22, 593). Here we have the name of the current king of Caracol, the father of Tum Ol K'inich II, Yahaw Te K'inich (D2) the K'ul Kan Tumak (C3) or "Caracol lord." Here we have also the parentage of the grandmother of Tum Ol K'inich II recorded here (E1 F1) and his grandfather Tum Ol K'inich I (K'an I) (E3). There isn't much I can say about the text on Altar 21.

Caracol Stela 1

Caracol Altar 21

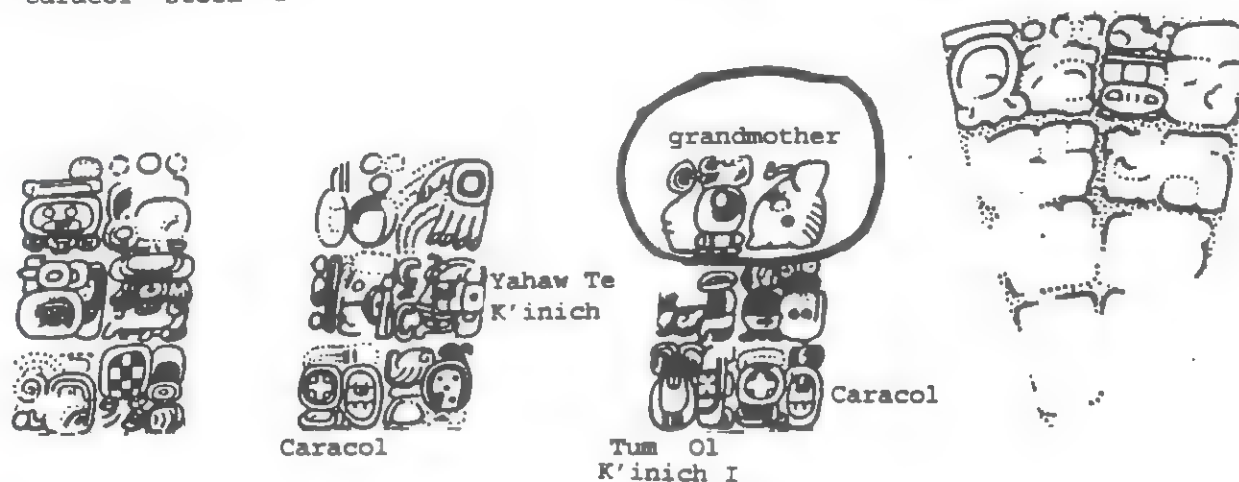


Fig.172

(Linda) These drawings of the Pusilja monuments are very difficult, but I think that there are some bizzare things going on at Pusilja that are very important. They are very tentative right now and so we want to pull Pusilja in now. Pusilja is a site that is in the same southern area of Belize as Caracol, but there is a mountain range in between the two sites. Caracol is on the Peten side of the mountains and Pusilja is in that little part of southern Belize that really looks to the Rio Dulce and towards the Motagua drainage and so its connections of trade and canoe work, and so forth, are towards that southern area. This will become important later. I didn't try to incorporate the full history of the site because the drawings of the monuments that are available now are so bad, but what we do have is that I wanted to begin with the same k'atun ending at 9.8.0.0.0 (Aug.22, 593). Just stop for a moment and think about what's going on in Europe at this time. This is really flat in comparison. This is Pusilja Stela D (Fig.173). The name of the ruler is probably right in this area here with the k'awil (A3) and this fairly common title Ok K'in or Yok' K'in (B3). As for the rest of this text, I have no confidence that I can read anything in it from the drawing, but we just want to pull Pusilja into this arena because it's going to be important a little while later.

Pusilja Stela D

k'awil

Ok K'in

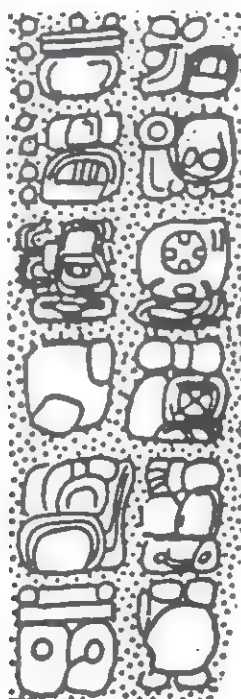


Fig.173

The other place to bring in is Lacanja and this is Stela 1 (Fig.174). The important thing here is that this is 9.8.0.0.0 (Aug.22, 593). This date also has Venus astronomy associated with it as an event. Venus was a little bit past first appearance. It's at about 9 degrees above the horizon as Evening Star and if you are in a cloudy area or cloudy time of the year that's not bad for making the first observation rather than technically a helical rising. The important thing here is the square shield and the pill-box headdress. The main date is 9.8.0.0.0, but there is also an earlier date recorded of 9.6.11.0.8 (Jan.29, 565). The verb is missing here, but I suspect that it is something like an accession. This now gets Lacanja into the picture as well as Bonampak and Yaxchilan.

Lacanja Stela 1

pill-box headdress

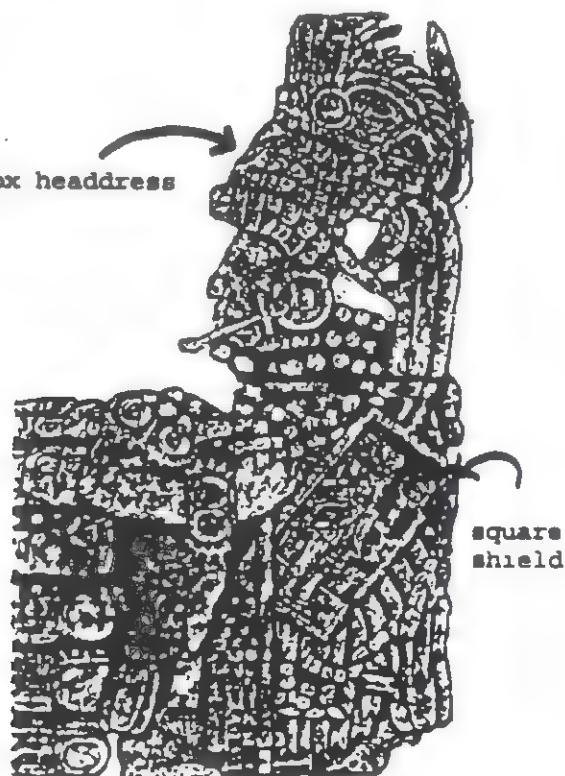
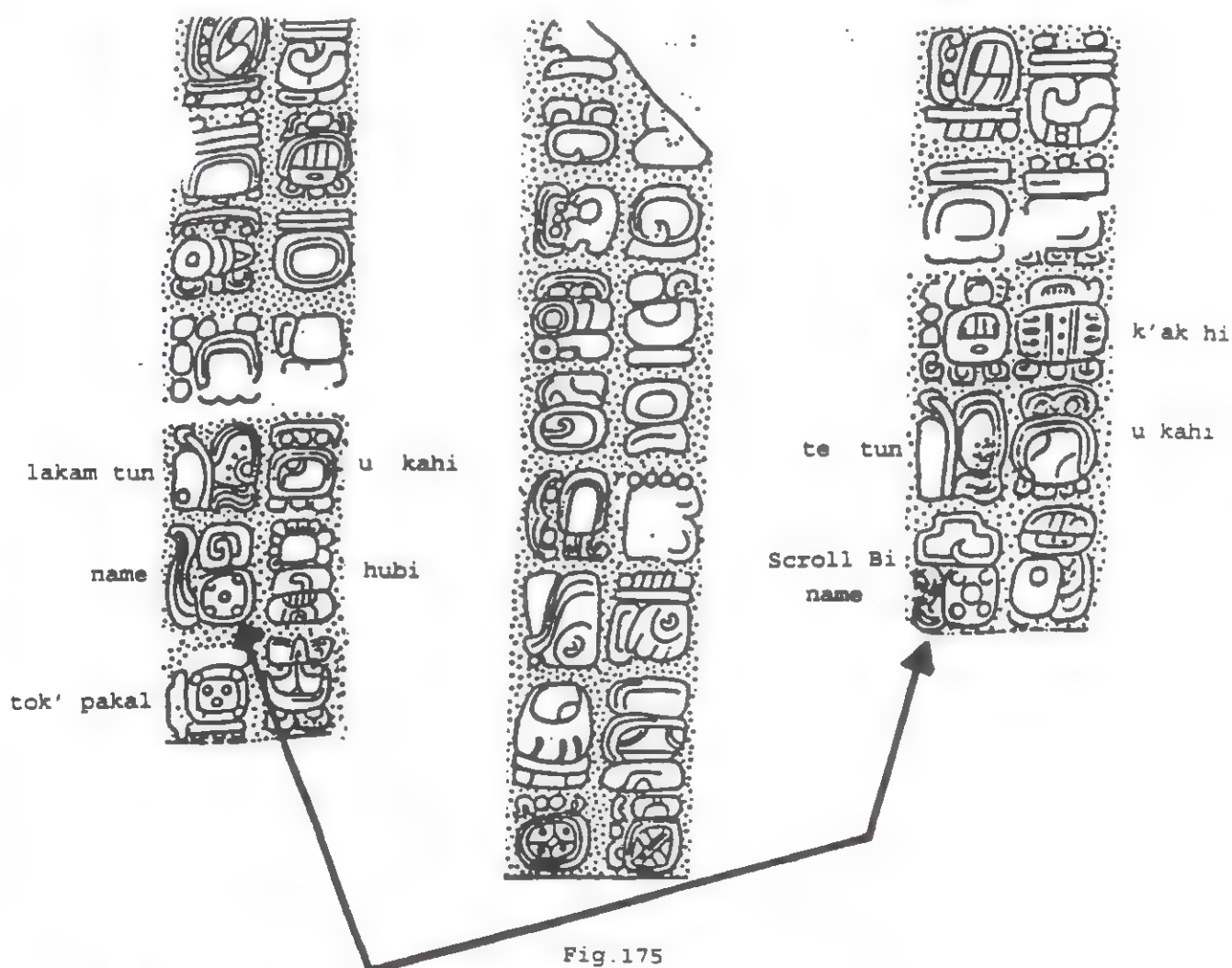


Fig.174

We then need to go back to Pusilja and Stela D (Fig.175) for the date 9.8.1.12.8 (April 22, 595). We have basically, the setting up of the monument that records that Period Ending and you can see here is the lakam tun (A5) probably to celebrate the 9.8.0.0.0, but it took them a year to get it up and carved. This is probably the guy's name here (A6). We also have a hubi (B7) recorded here along with tok' pakal (A8), so Pusilja is involved in a war. The hubi and the throwing of the tok' pakal now involve the southern area of Belize which gets it closer towards the Copan region. This is probably the local ruler and then the other thing that is really neat when we come over here is that this name and this name are the same (A6 and E5). Here's the u kahi (B5) and this is simply k'ak hi (F3) so this is "burned or fired" as the dedication event followed by te tun (E4) u kahi (F4) "by." This is the guy's name (E5) and you can call him Scroll Bi if you want to.

Pusilja Stela D



We are now back to Naranjo and Altar 1 that dates to 9.8.2.14.3 (May 21, 596) (Fig.176). This begins by talking about a series of things that we are going to show over and over again. The text starts out with a distance number of about 19 years that leads from the pat tun "the forming of the stone" (B2) of this house the yax something na (C2). This is that precinct within Naranjo that is just called max (below in C2). Then we get the date of the event (A3 B3) and we get witz u along with a skull sign (C3). Then we have a glyph with a

little waterlily sign over the top of the main sign with a Casper the ghost sign under it (A4). We do not know how to read this except that these are two complementary things. The top portion of the glyph is the verb and the bottom is the thing that receives the action. We'll be able to prove it to you later when we get to Dos Pilas. Witz can either mean "entering the mountain" or it means "to pile up" and what's being piled up here are skulls and bones. What you saw in David Freidel's tomb where he had all of those bodies may be one of these events or the other possibility is that there is good evidence now at Copan for the reentry of tombs both to desecrate them by enemies and to take relics by friends. These things include piling up the bones and painting them and in fact this is what we think this is (the glyph at A4 is the water lily glyph nab and nab means "to varnish or to paint with red ochre"). We have bones all over the place that are covered with red ochre. Now the archaeologists have said for a long time that the body was painted red and when the flesh decayed, the paint just fell. Now do you want to tell me how they fall under the bones and inside the joints? I think we have a secondary burial and ritual re-opening where people go in and take relics that are then carved into the things that we see being used as relics by people or by being put up in houses as we have ethnohistorical data for the Yucatan. That is what we think this event is. The next glyph seems to have a ko sign here and a throne glyph here (A5) and we think this is the place where this action happened. Following that we have u kahi (B5) and this is hun te ahaw (A6) k'ul (B6) wak kal nal (A7) which is a toponymic reference that Simon has worked out the pattern for. It is very characteristic of Naranjo as a political entity and as a place. Then we have Ah Wos as the guy who did it (A8). Now we do not know whose bones he has, but I suspect that they were his father's. They were either his father's or it was important captive's, but it may be the reburial and the taking of relics from his father. However, as you will find out you do this to enemies who you have captured also. Here's a moment in time; open your minds. Remember this event. This is really critically important. We are going to trace this event to the next 150 years under unbelievable circumstances.

Naranjo Altar 1

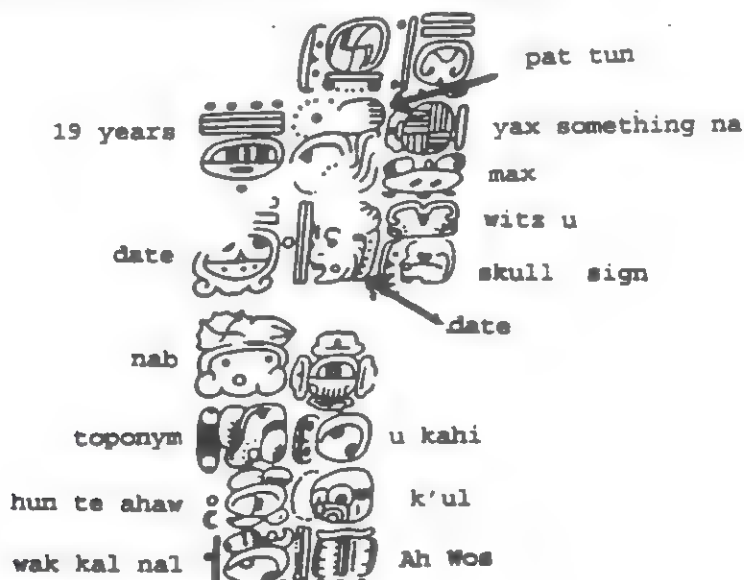
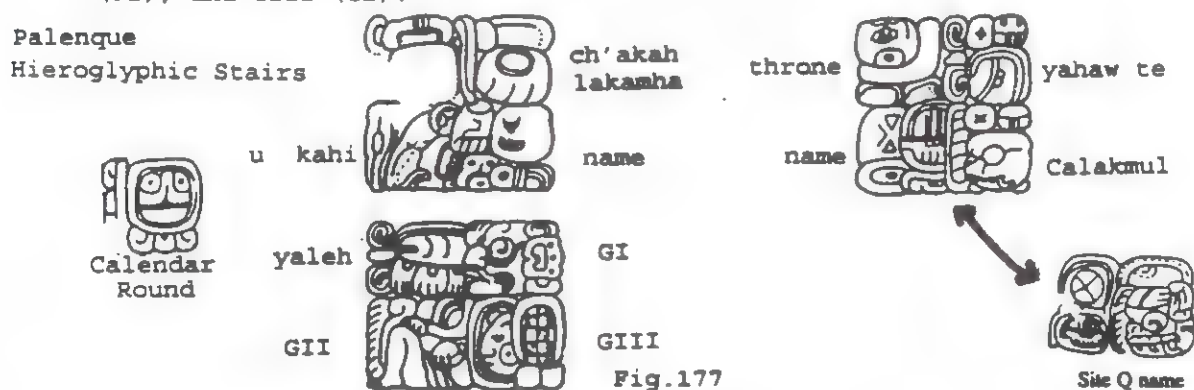


Fig.176

This is an event that is recorded on the Hieroglyphic Stairs at Palenque (Fig.177). This first particular Calendar Round has been worked out by many people over the years and today I can tell you that it has been off by at least one full Calendar Round. We now favor the earlier date. When Floyd Lounsbury walks in and looks you straight in the eye and he says that I want to present a heresy to you, you had better watch out. That happened to us at one of our many mini-conferences. Floyd walked in and presented a complete redating of this

inscription. Peter and I mumbled for about a day and a half until we realized that Floyd was both right and wrong. He had wanted to take dates that we had locked to Period Endings forward by a Calendar Round and we wouldn't let him do that. We had drag out fights over this and he actually got mad at one moment and glared at us. That's a major event for Floyd. We realized that if we left the date that we had where it was, the one that was tied to the Period Ending, and shoved this one way back in time it would work out right. The final blow to this was Simon in his first year at this Workshop. He identified one of these characters as being on the Caracol monuments at the date that Floyd had forced us to reset this Calendar Round at. So what happened is that all of these independently derived answers all came together and that made this exactly right.

What we have here is a Calendar Round which sets the date at 9.8.5.13.8 (April 21, 599). This is clearly a ch'akah event (C1). Now I've always taken this to be u bah after the ch'akah, but Nikolai suggested to me yesterday that this is lakamha (C1) which is the name of the capital city of Palenque polity. This may be another one of these places where you ch'akah a location. Then we have u kahi here (B2) and we have a name (C2). This is the throne glyph (D1) that is often associated with Founders followed by the title yahaw te (E1), so this guy is a yahaw te of this throne. Here is the name (D2 E2). This is the name of the ruler that Simon found at Caracol (Site Q name) and you can see that they both record the same name followed by the Calakmul emblem glyph. I think Simon is exactly right here. This is within about a 40 year period of each other and so its biologically feasible. Werner Nahm points out here that we have the exact same name and emblem glyph on a monument from Tonina. If Calakmul is fooling around with Tonina, this then makes this much more interesting because Palenque is a Tikal ally. This verb here reads (F1) ya le hi or yaleh. When I analyzed this about five years ago on this reading, I talked about the possibility that this meant that "they said it or was thrown." I took the alternative of "they said it" thinking that maybe this war, when I thought Palenque was on the winning side, happened because the gods told them to do it. Since then it is now clear that Palenque was not on the winning side; it was a loser. By the way, this is background information to explain way they attack someone to get a victory. I think Nikolai suggested that this is "to throw down the three patron gods of the city." These are the statues that would have been in the temples and these are the patron gods. Here's GI (G1), GII (F2), and GIII (G2).



(Nikolai) The next event is recorded on Caracol Stela 6 (Fig.178) and it dates to 9.8.5.16.12 (June 24, 599). I didn't have time to re-draw the other text for this monument because the published drawing is extremely bad; however, this is Linda's drawing of it. This event records the accession of another king of Caracol whose nickname is Flaming Ahaw. We can not yet read his name. Flaming Ahaw was also the son of Yahaw Te K'inich.

Flaming Ahaw

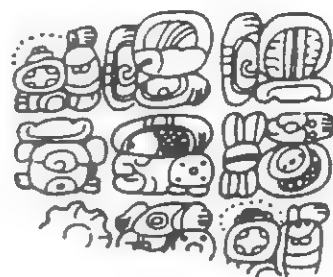
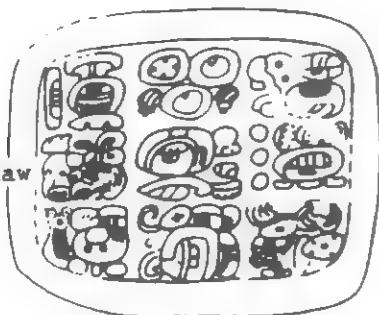


Fig.178

The parentage involved in this looks like this (Fig.179). Yahaw Te K'inich is the king who participated in the war against Tikal. We have already seen Lady Batz' Ek' and she is a lady from the Calakmul area. She was born in 9.6.12.4.16. We also have the birthday for Flaming Ahaw (Ruler IV) and he born on 9.7.2.0.3. This is less than 10 years between the birthdate of Batz' Ek' and the birth of Flaming Ahaw. So she can not have been his wife and it was very very unlikely that this lady, age 9 or so, was the mother of Flaming Ahaw. Yahaw Te K'inich very likely had another wife and Flaming Ahaw was the son of this other wife and of Yahaw Te K'inich. He was a relatively short-lived king who acceded to the throne on 9.8.5.16.12 and a few years later Tum Ol K'inich, the great king of Caracol who did most of major architecture you see today when you visit the site, was inaugurated. Tum Ol K'inich fails to acknowledge the existence of a half-brother who was his predecessor. He always refers back to his grandfather Yahaw Te K'inich. He never makes mention of Flaming Ahaw. Yahaw Te K'inich's first wife might have been a local person, though we have no evidence for this and the second one was an outsider or a foreign bride. This is a similar situation to the one at Yaxchilan a couple of k'atuns later when Shield Jaguar had a local wife and also a couple of foreign wives.

THE CARACOL DYNASTY - A REVISED OVERVIEW

ST. 20

ST. 13

ST. 4

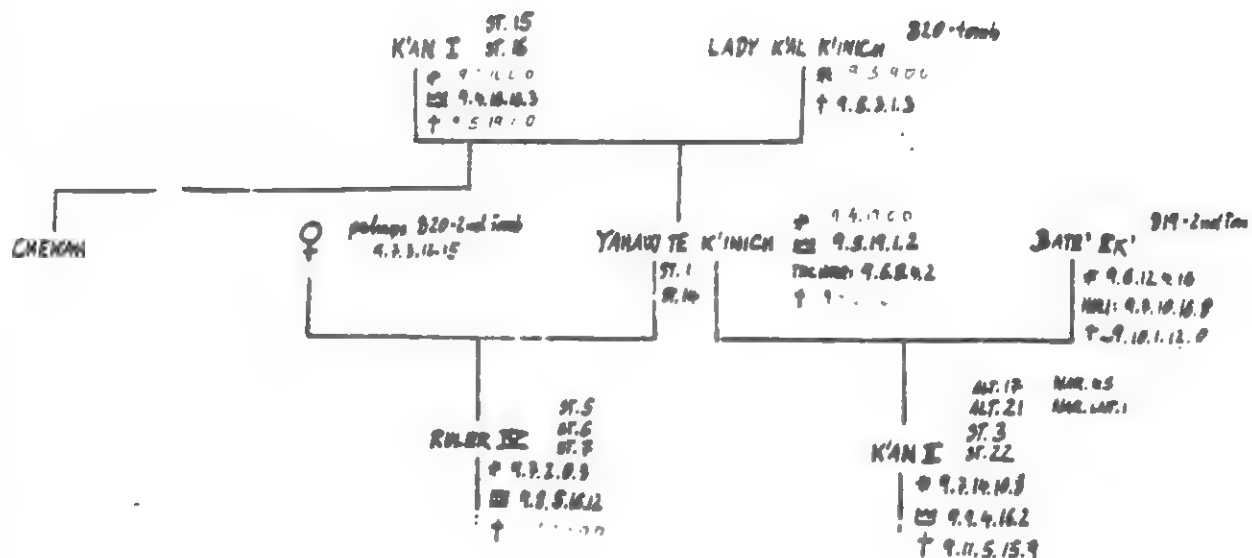
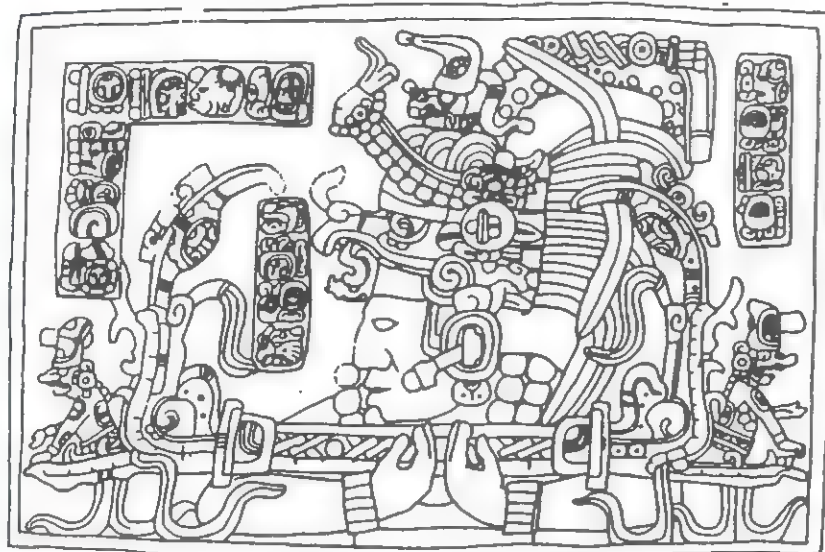


Fig.179

BREAK 10:38-10:50 AM

(Linda) This is a lintel from Structure 6 of Bonampak (Fig.180) and it is also the structure that is on top of the hill. It shows a picture of a ruler of Bonampak holding the Double-Headed Serpent Bar with k'awils coming out of the serpent heads. Nikolai was the first one to figure out what was really going on with this monument which makes it really neat. The date is 9.8.9.15.11 (May 13, 603) 7 Chuen (A1) 4 Te Zotz' (A2). Here is hubi (A3) "threw down or was downed" followed by u tok' pakal (A4) "his flint shield." Now the new part here is really neat. This is ah followed by the little tree that David Stuart has shown reads lakam (B1) and this is the head variant of an Imix glyph (C1) which is ha or ah. This is the lord of Lakamha. Lakamha is the name of the city or the capital city of the Palenque polity. Nikolai suggested that this registers the capture of someone from Palenque. We do not know whether it was the king or whomever, but if there was a capture from Palenque, it would mean that there was some sort of conflict. The text then continues with u kahi (D1) followed by titles here (E1 E2) and this is the first lord whose name was Chan (E3) Muwan (E4). This title here with the axe over the earth sign followed by na may read ch'akan. That puts this date at 9.8.9.13.0 in the year 603 which is the year that Pakal was born. This then would be an attack against his mother.



7 Chuen lakam ha u kahi



4 Te Zotz'

hubi

u tok' pakal



title



ch'akan



Chan



Muwan

Fig.180

Steve Houston makes a suggestion here that this could be a reference to someone from the Lacamha that's near Bonampak based on the possibility that the place name of that area maybe very ancient. There is a lot of evidence for that by the way. The place names that we are getting on the monuments still survive in many of the exact same areas today.

(Nikolai) Now there is not much to say about this text from Lamanai (Stela 9, Fig.181). (Linda) This is the iconography. Here is the war serpent on his headdress. Here is the Double-Headed Serpent Bar. The name of this person is recorded on the top of the head and it's the same name that we have right here (A7). (Nikolai) Here is the date (A4-A5) which is 9.8.14.17.16 (May 31, 608). The event that this person does is recorded here as ch'ay chan (A6). Ch'ay means "to lose" and chan means "sky" and it may also be the number "4" in relation with the k'atun. So what this really is, we are not sure yet. This happens u kahi "by the action of" (B1) this person who is a chan yo ot, which is a Penis/Sky title (C1). Here is the name (B2) followed by the Chak title (C2). Again if we look at his war iconography the next glyph reads lak'in chak te (D1) or the "East Chak Te" title and this is what we think to be the Lamanai emblem glyph (D2). (Linda) Or the possibility as it seems to me Nikolai, is that the local protagonist seems to be the lord that is on the monument. That means that he is doing this action "under the authority" of this other guy. So that maybe the emblem glyph for another polity somewhere in the region and this is another subordination statement putting Lamanai under someone else's hegemony. (Nikolai) We were thinking about the possibility of identifying this as a snake head with a small ka sign in front of it, but when we went to the rubbing of this monument we couldn't prove this nor could we identify the major portion of the emblem glyph with any of the other snake sites. It may be a form of the La Milpa emblem glyph, but the main sign is badly eroded on all of those monuments that we can not be sure.

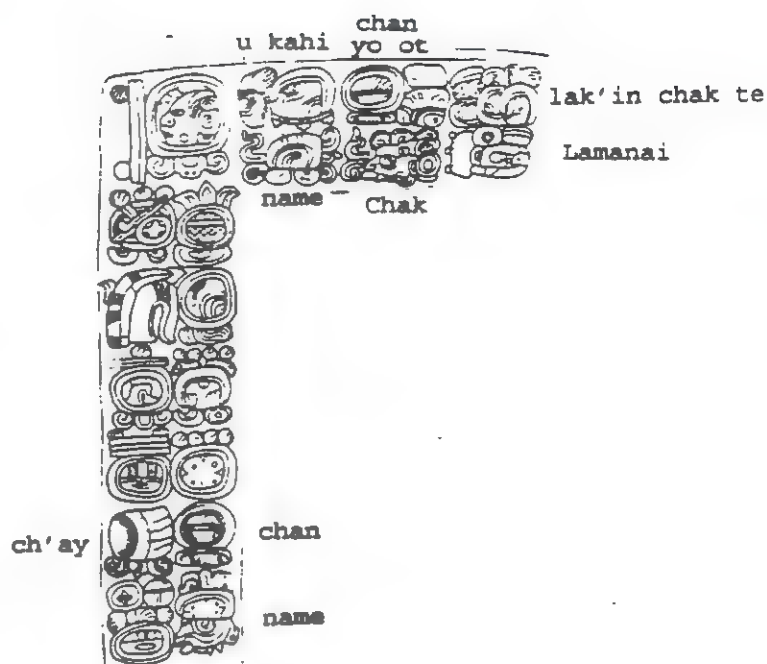
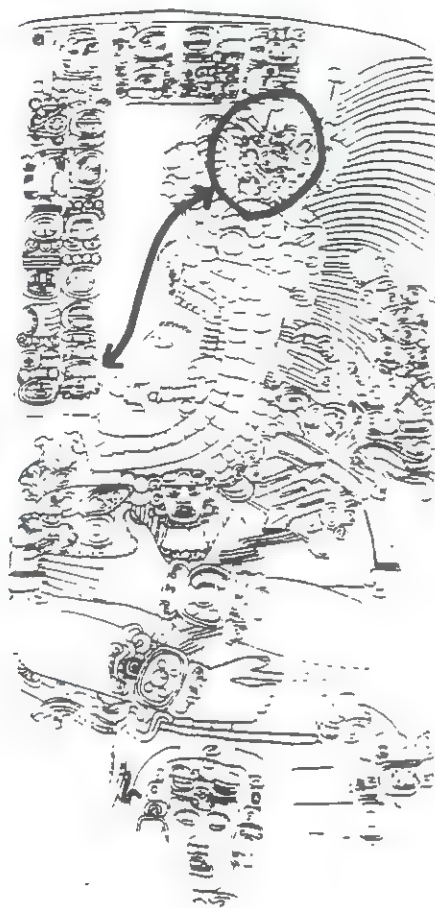


Fig.181

(Linda) Then we need to move back to Palenque when Pakal is now 4 years old (Palenque, East Tablet of the Temple of the Inscriptions, Fig.182). The date is 9.8.17.15.14 (April 4, 611). This decipherment and recognition is shared by Matt Looer who co-authored the Texas note on this. We have a distance number (A1 B1) that leads from this day (A2 B2) and you can either say that this event (A3 B3) took place on that day and you are counting forward 6 winals, but I think it's more likely in the way the structure is, that this event happened 6 winals after this day. The event is the phonetic spelling of the axe event (A3). It's ch'a ka ha or ch'akah and this is one of those events where you "damage or tear apart" and the place that is attacked is Lakamha (B3). This clearly has to be Palenque since it's recorded internally. Then we get the name of the date 4 Ix (A4) 7 Wo (B4). Then we have u kahi (A5) "he did it" followed by a name that reads na na and this head that can be read as wa, so it's nan something (B5). This glyph here (A6) reads Pi, the turtle head reads ah, and we have an ahaw over the top. Pia or Pi ha or Pipha is a toponym that a whole bunch of us identified as coming from Pomona which is the next great polity towards the Usumacinta. We do not know at this time who Pomona is allied with, although I would suspect that they allied with Piedras Negras and Calakmul. They attack and the attack is so furious that they got into the downtown part of Palenque itself and did a bunch of damage.

Palenque
Temple of the Inscriptions
East Tablet

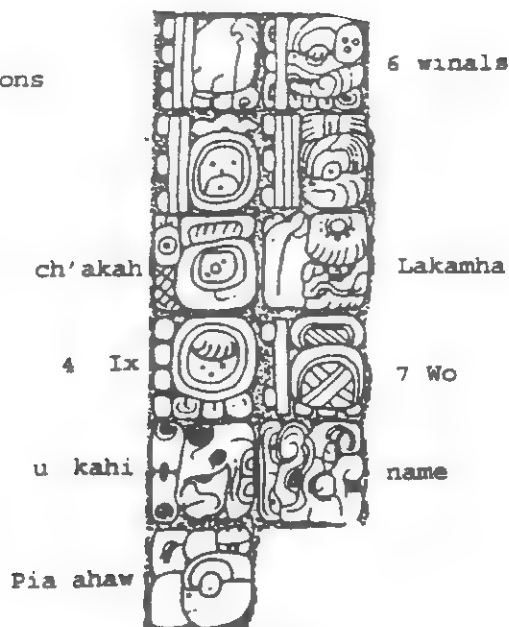


Fig.182

(Nikolai) Next we have two events from Arroyo de Piedras, a small site in the Petexbatun region very close to Dos Pilas. In fact, it's only about 40 minutes from the Dos Pilas plaza. On Arroyo de Piedra Stela 1 (Fig.183) the first event recorded there occurs on 9.8.19.11.16 (Jan.5, 613). The verb is here (B2) and that event is unknown.

Arroyo de Piedra Stela 1

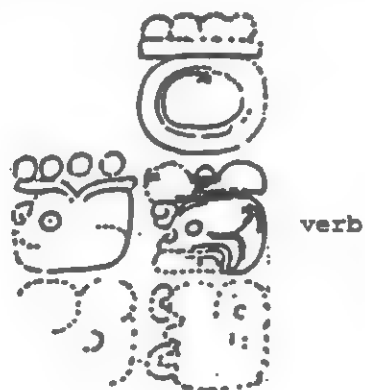


Fig.183

LATE CLASSIC WARFARE (9.9.0.0.0 - 9.9.15.0.0)

The next event recorded on Arroyo de Piedras Stela 1 (Fig.184) was on 9.9.0.0.0 (May 9, 613). The passage begins with u bah (A1) followed by the Paddler Gods named here (B1 A2). This may be the name of the Arroyo de Piedras king (B3-B5). This is his parentage (A5). His mother is named here (B5-A8). He is the "child of" (B8) followed by the names and titles of the father recorded here (A9-B9). Then we have u and a bird head with a wa suffix (A10) for ahaw. This may well be a yu superfix with a small ku infixed here (B10) and a ma suffix. This seems to be yukum and this is a title worn by the Calakmul kings. So this establishes, probably, a relation between the father of the protagonist and an ahaw from Calakmul or the Calakmul king. Maybe this tells us that Arroyo de Piedra, in the early part of its history was in

the sphere of Calakmul.

Arroyo de Piedras Stela 1

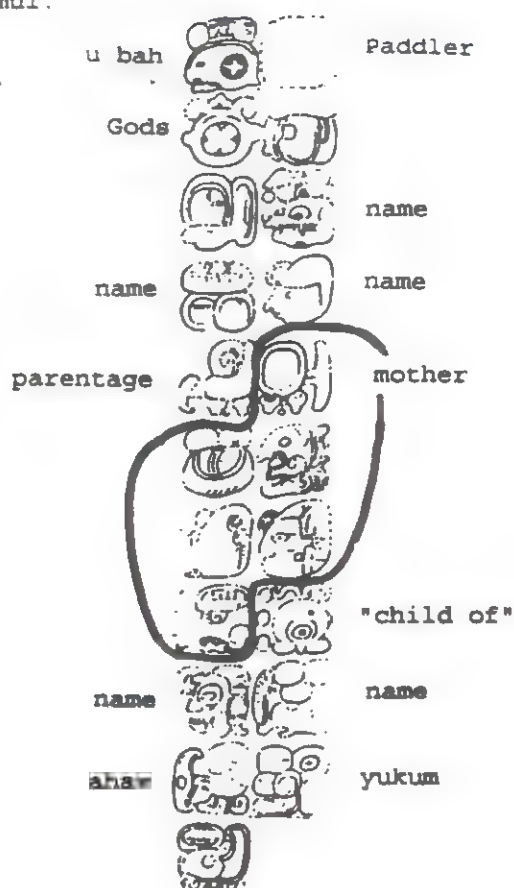


Fig.184

(Linda) Now a little more than 2 years later on 9.9.2.0.2 (May 3, 615) recorded on Naranjo Stela 25 (Fig.185) is a text that records the 72nd anniversary of that date in which you had that u kahi Ku'ix of Calakmul. This is the latest date that we have that is associated either by chronological connection or by direct written connection with the lord called Ruler 1 or Ah Wos. We take it that he is reigning up to this period, but we are very quickly going to get a change in reign and that leads to the beginning of Naranjo's disasters.

Naranjo Stela 25



Fig.185

(Nikolai) In a moment we come to Naranjo's disaster, but before we have a couple of events from a series of panels that we all looted from an area that Peter Mathews has identified coming from Site Q. We called them Site Q panels because we couldn't identify their original place of origin. Now we know that they seem to come from a place called Placeres, which is in southern Campeche relatively close to Calakmul. This panel here (Site Q Panel; Fig.186) starts with a Long Count date of 9 (A2). 9 (B2). 2 (A3). 0 (B3). 9 (A4). I think that there is an error in the date and its most likely reconstruction is 9.9.2.0.8 (May 7, 615). There are many problems in the chronology here, but they have all been figured out. It records the birth (D1) *sih ya* "it was born" and then we have the name of the king here (C2-D3). He was the "child of" (C4 D4) written in a very rare form of the "child of mother" glyph which also occurs in the texts of Chichen Itza. This is the name of the lady (C5-C6). Then we have *u* (D6) *nich il* "he is the flower of or the child of the father" (C7) and the father of this king is called *Sak Mas* which Steve and I have translated as "white dwarf" (D7).

Site Q Panel (Placeres)

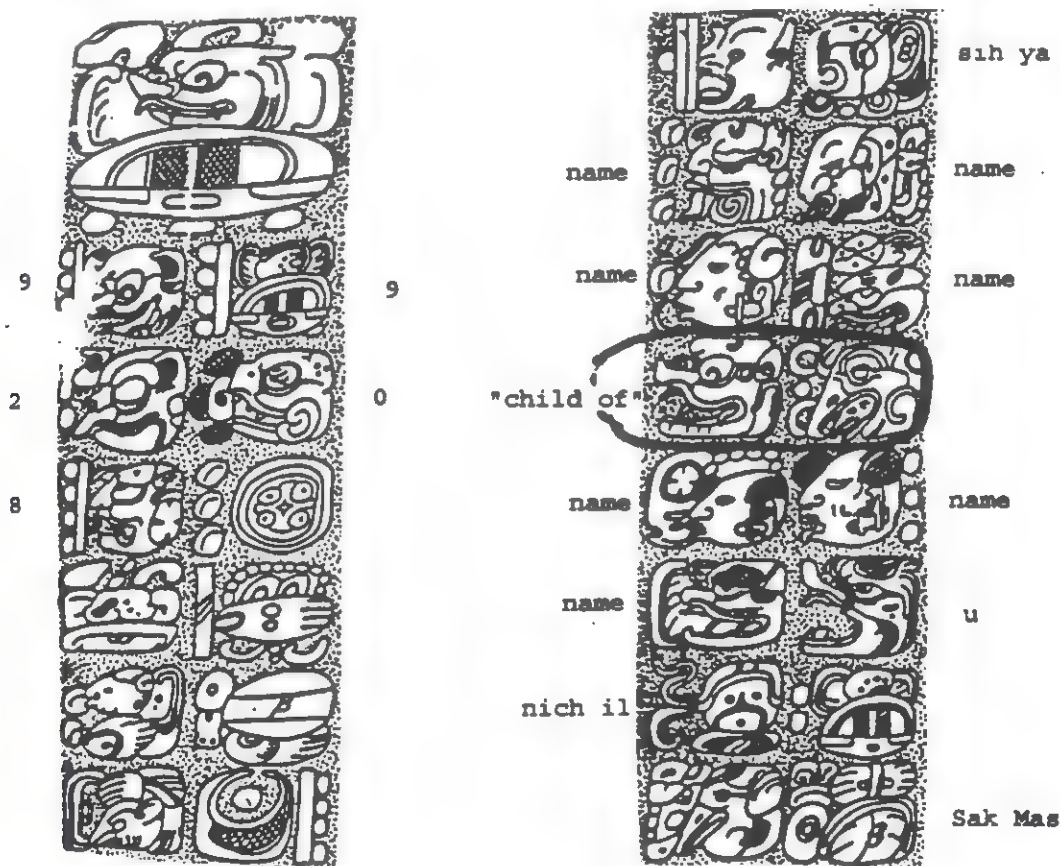


Fig.186

Remember when we were talking about Tum Ol K'inich II who was born as a child of a lady from Calakmul or the Calakmul area? Finally, he accedes. His accession is recorded here on Caracol Stela 3 (Fig.187) and that date is 9.9.4.16.2 (March 6, 618). The accession verb is here (C). Here we have his real name Tum Ol K'inich (D) and his pre-

accession name Sak Ba Witz (E). This is the last time that he carries his preaccession name. Finally, we have K'ul Kan Tumak (F and G) which is the Caracol emblem glyph followed by u kahi (H) "by the doing of." Here are the names of the Protector Gods of Caracol (I, J and K). (Linda) Now before we leave this text, notice the date for this monument (9.9.4.16.2). About 2 years before this date is the accession of Hanab Pakal (9.9.2.4.8 or July 26, 615). So Pakal is going to become a pretty major player in this little drama and notice that we have the accession of the Caracol king, the accession of the Palenque king and the accession of others all coming together at about the same time.

Caracol Stela 3

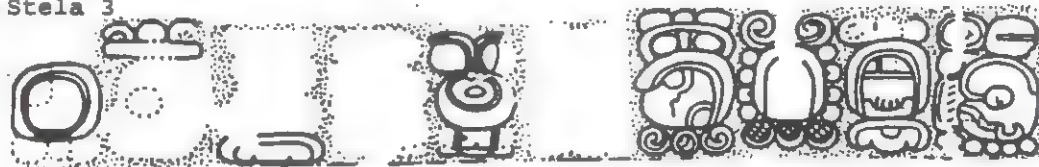


accession Tum Sak Caracol u Protector Gods
Ol Ba kahi
K'inich Witz

Fig.187

(Nikolai) Okay the next event is again on Caracol Stela 3 (Fig.188) and is shortly after his accession. The date is 9.9.5.13.8 (Jan.6, 619). We have no idea what the verb is (C and D), but the subject of the sentence is Tun Ol K'inich (E) followed probably by a Caracol emblem glyph (F). Then we have u kahi (G) "it was done by" and then we have a name here (H and I) followed by the Calakmul emblem glyph (J). So there was something done to Tum Ol K'inich by the king of Calakmul. This is evidence for the ties between Caracol and Calakmul after the war against Tikal.

Caracol Stela 3



verb verb Tum u kahi name name Calakmul
Ol Caracol
K'inich

Fig.188

For the next event, we jump from Belize to Tobasco to a site of Morales and Stela 5 (Fig.189). From some of the inscriptions at Morales it turns out that Morales also mentions the Site Q emblem glyph or the Calakmul emblem glyph in an accession phrase. It seems that Morales also was integrated into the Calakmul influence or sphere. You can see how this network of political alliances is expanding. (Linda) For those of you who do not the geography or where this place is, Pomona that just got through attacking Palenque is on the Palenque side of the Usumacinta River. Morales is on the other side at almost the exact same position, but on the opposite side of the Usumacinta. So we have two polities here that are controlling the two lowland sides or alluvial plain of the Usumcinta after it comes out that huge gorge at Tenosique. (Nikolai) The nature of the event is unknown (A2). (Someone says here that this main sign may be an indication that foreign day signs, as they are later used in Altar de Sacrificios and Seibal (in the central Peten) might be coming from the Usumacinta/Tobasco/Gulf Coast area and this may be such a cartouche day sign.

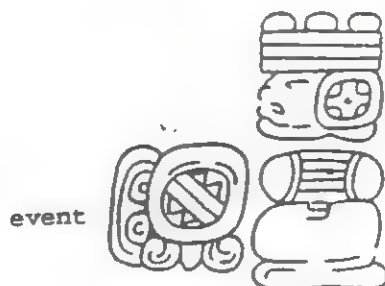


Fig.189

Okay, we continue with Caracol to see how the relations developed between Caracol and Calakmul. This is the text from Caracol Stela 22 (Fig.190) which we found in 1991. It is pretty much eroded and it dates 9.9.9.10.5 (Oct.14, 622). There's not much we can say about it.

Caracol Stela 22



Fig.190

The same date appears on Caracol Stela 3 (Fig.191). We begin with another arrival (C1). Remember, yesterday I mentioned that this glyph is almost identical to Glyph D of the Lunar Series? This records the "arrival" of something. That something is written with a 3 and bird with a winal sign in its mouth (D). It maybe the name of a god or a figure of a statue because on Tikal Stela 31 the same glyph is used in a companionship expression where it seems to express the divine companion to Sian Kan K'awil. (Linda) Even more amazing, is that a floor panel that was found at Copan under Structure 26 has a portrait on one side of the king called Mat Head and on the other side facing him is Yax K'uk Mo'. Yax K'uk Mo' has got a Serpent Bar in his hand and coming out of the Serpent Bar is this same sign and so it seems that it is something that you can conjure up also. (Werner Nahm) Maybe it refers to the "arrival" of the three Protector Gods. (Nikolai) They "arrive" tan kun ox witz ha "in the center of the seat of the Caracol toponym" (E). It was "observed" yilah (F) by Lady Batz' Ek" (G) from Yax Ahaw which is a place or toponym within the Calakmul polity perhaps (H). We then have the beginning of the next phrase here (I) which we don't understand followed by u kahi (J) Tum Ol K'inich (K) of K'ul Kan Tumak (L). The next glyph is very important. It reads ya ka wa (M) or yak wa "he gave it" and here we have a name phrase (N). Enough remains of this emblem glyph here (O) to say that this is a snake head or the Calakmul emblem glyph. What this tells us is that the transfer of goods or the royal regalia played a major role in conserving bonds between polities. This is a confirmation of the contact between Caracol and Calakmul. The Calakmul king who was a higher ranking king gave gifts to Caracol and this was observed by both the Caracol king, his wife and his mother.

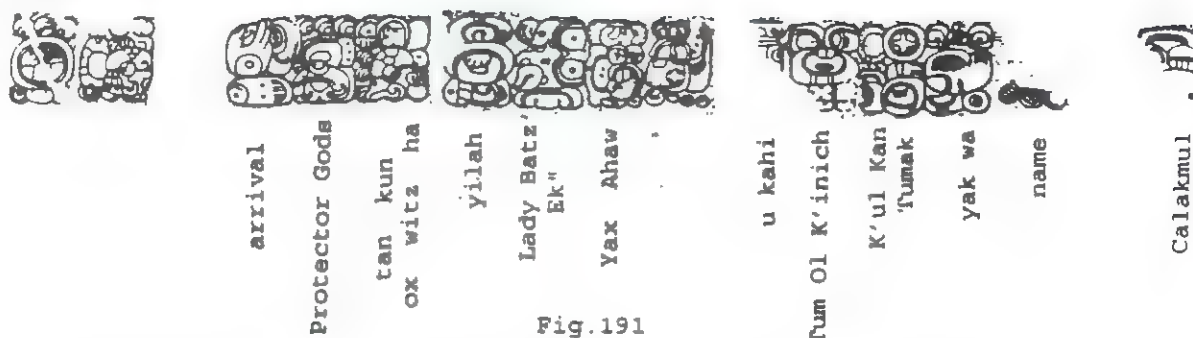


Fig.191

(Linda) Okay, this is Piedras Negras Stela 26 (Fig.192). Here is the king, normally called Ruler 1, wearing this war helmet that we have been seeing. He has the square shield in his hand. He has a crooked staff which may be related to the crooked staffs that show up in the Terminal Classic at Seibal. John Carlson says that this is the feathered serpent staff from the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. It has, I think, the War Serpent stuck out on the end of it and there are two captives who are bound and kneeling at his feet. There are two names here that go above the captives. As you can see, this text is very eroded and it is extremely difficult to figure out anything that is going on with the verbs in the text running along the sides. But the Initial Series here is the Period Ending 9.9.15.0.0 and there is a distance number in here (B4) that leads back to a slightly earlier date at 9.9.11.12.3 (Nov.11, 624). We do not know which event is being represented here. It's likely to be the Period Ending, but the two captives pictured are also likely to have been taken or to be associated with this earlier historical date that leads up to the Period Ending. These two texts that are above the figures we think are really important. Mary Miller identified this several years ago as a name phrase denoting someone from Yaxchilan (right text). At the workshop in which she presented this Nikolai and I went to Maler and looked at the original photograph and decided that the emblem glyph is not that of Yaxchilan, but rather the bone of the Palenque emblem glyph. This text clearly reads ch'ok (A1) "youth, sprout or member of a lineage who was not the head of the lineage" balam (A2) ya ha k'ul na (A3) or yah k'ul na "the possessed title holder" of the Ahaw of Palenque (A4). Once again, this is not the king of Palenque. This is an official of Palenque and he has apparently been taken captive and in order for that to happen there had to have been a conflict. Then the opposite captive text starts with ka ba kan te or Kab Kan Te (B1) and as we will find out this is a repeated name associated with the site called Sak Tzi' (B2) or "white dog" followed by ahaw (B3); so he is a Sak Tzi' Ahaw. We do not know where this location is, but it is some relatively important polity in this area.

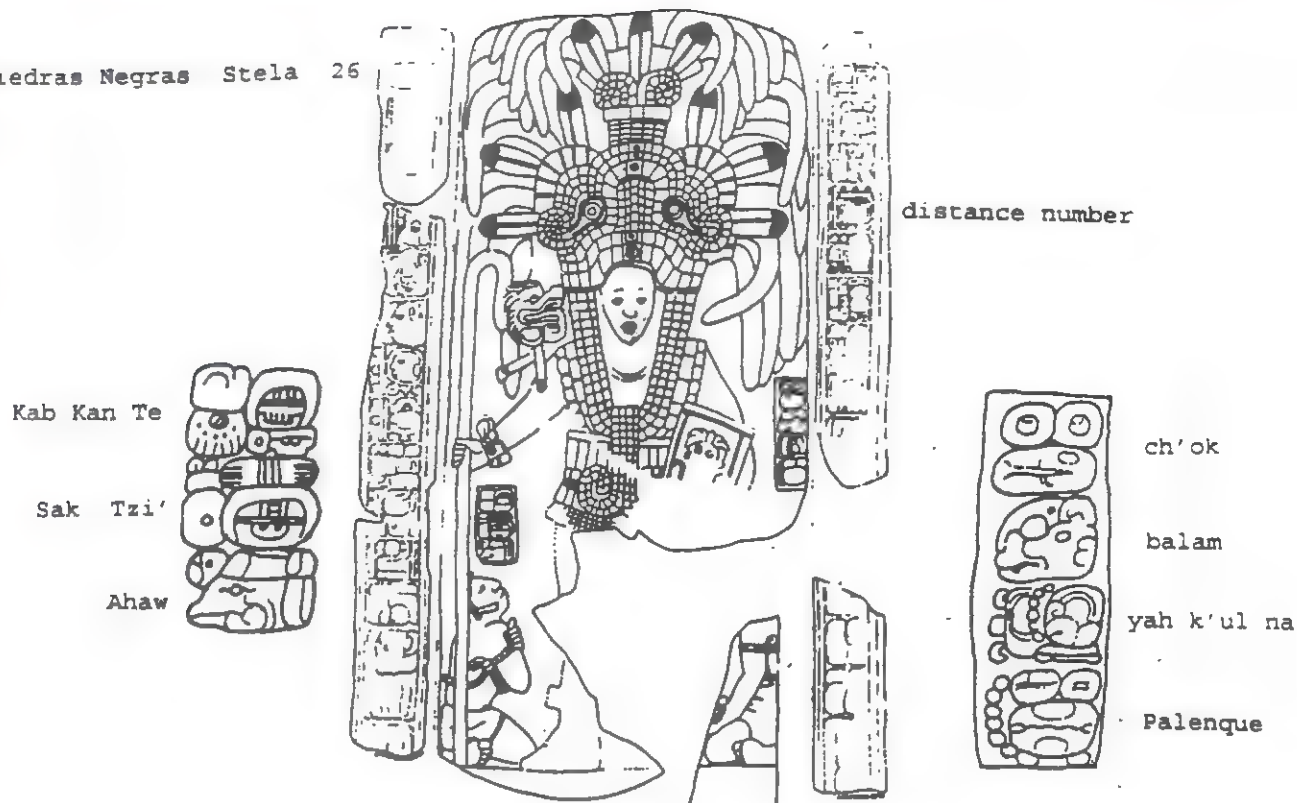


Fig.192

(Nikolai) To give you an idea Sak Tzi is mentioned in just a few inscriptions (Fig.193 and Fig.194). It is mentioned on a looted panel from Brussels and as you can see here it is K'ab Kan Te' Sak Tzi' Ahaw. It is mentioned on the Walter Randal Stela. It is mentioned on a looted fragment which is now in Zurich. It is mentioned on a panel in the Bonampak bodega, which comes from the area of Nuevo Jalisco. Also it is on another looted panel from the Lacanha area. It is on Piedras Negras Stela 26. The same Sak Tzi' site is mentioned on a lintel from El Cayo. It is mentioned at Bonampak on two lintels (Lintel 1 and 2) and finally on La Mar Stela 3. I haven't yet finished compiling all the citations of the Sak Tzi' site, but it's clear that it is a site somewhere in between El Cayo, Bonampak, Piedras Negras, and La Mar. Maybe Peter Mathews, when he finally does his regional survey of this area, will find it and provide us with a complete history of this site.

Brussels Panel, Chisago Panel:

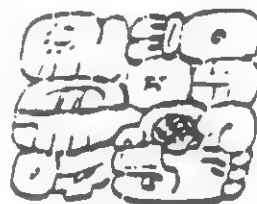
YONAL AK K'INICH ANAY / KAN
date: 9.12.15.9.8?



9.13.1.1.2 (?) / CHOK CH'AN - !-MO' - 7-7 (UN - T) K'IN - K'AD CHAVTE SAT T2'1 ANAY

9.13.1.1.4: CH/KAT of a 3-mantle ANAY

9.13.1.1.6: 7-7 KAN of various mantles (4
'silvado,



Walker Roadel Date: 15.11.14.5.14

K'IN 84.47 CHIL KAT, / JANAL



"Fragment 1", Zürich:

no date, but mentions a TUNAY - for fixed 9.17.18.0.0 - 9.18.15.0.0 (approx.)



other glyphs,
eroded



Panel from a site near Nuevo Jalisco or Peresahua:

9.15.10.5.0



Zürich Panel:

9.14.16.5.4



Paleyue "Death's Head" - 508' 5 K'AN
related ??



ING ST.26 (9.9.11.10.3?)



name of Prisoner

Fig. 193

El Cuyo Lat. 1 9.16.12.2.6 SAKTE' AHAW in unclear context

9.16.12.9.10 HOKAH TI SAHIL El Cuyo Lat. 2 U KAH



(much later date) ... T2'APAH U TUNIL JAH KAHIT El Cuyo Lat. 2 YLAH



BHP Lat. 2

9.17.16.3.8

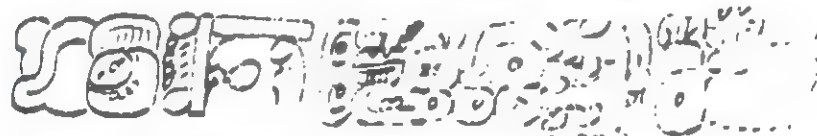


KAH
J, Cante C

CHUKAH KJ K'U-PA AK, J ... T2E ...
the = Lord 1

BHP Lat. 1

9.17.16.3.2



LA MAR ST. 3

9.19.3.5.4



CANTE MAX ... - :) DE MEXICO

Fig.194

We continue now with events from the Site Q area. I think we should continue to use the term Site Q for those panels that do not come from Calakmul and still have no archaeological provenance. We know what we call the Site Q emblem glyph (the Calakmul emblem glyph), but we are not yet sure of the origin of these panels with these texts. This is from Site Q Panel 2 (9.9.12.0.6 or Mar.13, 625) (Fig.195). Here we have the accession hok' ah (A2) ti ahaw le (B2) Sak Mas (A3), so "he came out into the kingship, Sak Mas" who is the father of the king who was born a little bit before. The bottom four glyphs (A5-B6) is just a restatement of the same event.



Fig.195

At Caracol at the same time we begin to see a series of war events and aggressive actions against the site of Naranjo. And if you recall, Caracol enters Calakmul's political sphere. At Naranjo, as we mentioned yesterday, one of the kings there also acceded "under the auspices of" a Calakmul king. But something has happened that make Caracol in connection with Calakmul doing a series of wars at Naranjo. (Linda) We have no texts yet that says that anything happened. David Freidel and I commented in The Forest of Kings that there was a tomb of a woman, not in the main site of Tikal, but in one of the small residential areas. In that tomb was a pot painted at Naranjo with Ah Wos's name on it. So sometime towards the end of Ah Wos's reign some connection was made that left material remains one way or another. We do not know how that pot got there or why, but something is happening which gets Naranjo in contact with Tikal in such a way that material goods are moving across that frontier. (Nikolai) The first event (Fig.196) takes place on 9.9.13.4.4. (May 25, 626) that is recorded on Caracol Stela 22, but again the critical parts are very much eroded. That Naranjo is involved here in the Stela 22 passage is clear from this title. This title is called the Sak Chuen Title. I think Michael Closs was the first person to identify this title in a rulership title for the kings of Naranjo, but later we were able to translate this title to Sak Chuen which means "white or brilliant artists." The same text continues here on Caracol Stela 22 with hubuy "it was downed" tok' pakal "the flint shield" u kahi "by the doing of" Tum Ol K'inich K'ul Kan Tumak which is the name of the Caracol king. The same thing is recorded here on Caracol Stela 3. Here we have hubuy "it was downed" Ah Sak u kahi Tum Ol K'inich K'ul Kan Tumak "he from Naranjo (here is the Naranjo place name and an ah sign is put in front of it, so it's a title of origin) by the doing of the Caracol king. The same event is also recorded on a stucco text which we found two years ago at Caracol which has not yet been published. Here we have hubuy and instead of the Naranjo place name we have a toponym which is also mentioned on Caracol Altar 1. It may have been a very sacred location inside the Naranjo polity. (Linda) This glyph is using the bone signs and that is really important. It seems that they might be doing something with the ancestral bones. (Nikolai) This is another title ah kuy "war leader" followed by u kahi "by the doing of" Tum Ol K'in-ich.

Caracol Stela 22



Sak Chuen Title



hubuy



tok' pakal



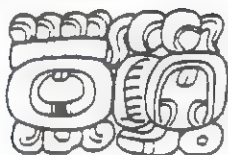
u kahi



K'ul
Kan Tumak

Tum Ol K'inich

Caracol Stela 3



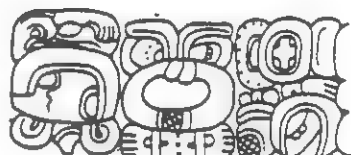
9 K'an 2 Sek
9.9.13.4.4



hubuy

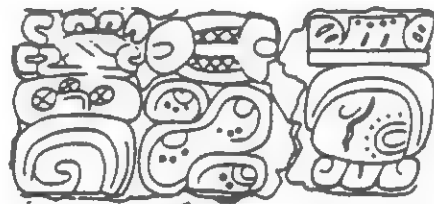


he from Naranjo

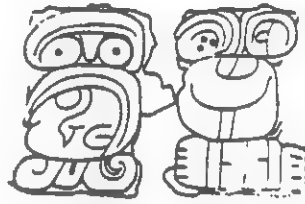


u kahi Tum Ol K'inich Caracol

Caracol B18 Stucco



hubuy toponym ah kuy



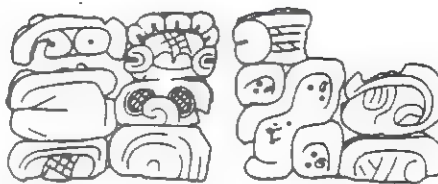
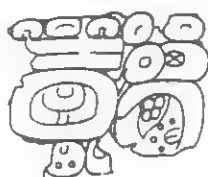
u kahi Tum Ol K'in-ich

Naranjo toponym



Fig.196

The next event is a few months later. The first one was in May and this one is in August or 9.9.13.8.4 (August 13, 626) (Caracol Stela 22 and Caracol Structure B 18 Stucco, Fig.197). Here we have another war, but we do not know how to interpret this glyph here (C). This is hubuy (D) and again it is at the same place that we have seen before (E). It is another "downing" of this place.



war hubuy toponym

Fig.197

Okay we continue with the next date of 9.9.14.3.5 (May 1, 627). These texts come from Caracol Stela 3 (top row), Caracol Structure B18 Stucco (middle row), and Naranjo Hieroglyphic Stairway (bottom row) Fig.198). Stela 3 begins with hubuy (C) of the place called Tzam (D) and the next glyph is also part of the place name, but we can not read it yet (E). We suppose, but we do not know, that this is a place within the Naranjo polity. We then have u kahi "it was done by" (F) Tum Ol K'inich (G) yitah "he was the companion of" yukum (H) and that is the title of the Calakmul kings. So he did this as a companion of the Calakmul king and here we have the Caracol emblem glyph (I). This shows how close a tie the canon ties were between Calakmul and Caracol at that time. (Simon mentions here that the yukum title is distributed over a great length of time by many different individuals and particularly shows up in foreign contexts. Not only that, but there are instances where known names can be substituted for this by this name. He thinks that it represents an institution, so that the Calakmul king as a representative of this institution is more emphasized than his personal identity.) (Linda) As Barbara MacLeod pointed out, yuk means "to join" and a yukum is a "joiner." This maybe a title for Calakmul kings specifically as an alliance maker. (Simon) Yukum kun is "the uniter of seats." (Nikolai) Can you imagine extremely powerful kings that do not spell their names, but hide the names behind titles? This means that the institution is more important than the individual and the Caracol king is not as important to the maintenance of the politics of the state and institution. From the Caracol stucco texts we have the same event hubuy and the same toponym. The rest of the text is gone. The same event is recorded here at Naranjo on the same date (A B), but what happens here is that we have pitz (C). So while Caracol is recording the hubuy or war event, at the same time, at Naranjo, the war is recorded as the ballgame. This tells you a lot about the view of the ballgame. It is something equivalent to war. The ballgame took place at the Ox Ahaw Eb "the Three Victory Stairs" (D) and the person who plays the ballgame is this person who we will show to be one of the kings of Calakmul (F).

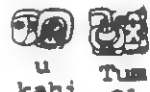
Caracol Stela 3



hubuy



Tzam



u kahi

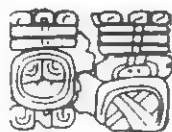


Tum Ol



yitah yukum

Caracol

Caracol Structure B18
Stucco

hubuy



toponym

Naranjo Hieroglyphic Stairway



pitz

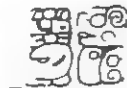


Fig.198

Ox Ahaw Eb



Calakmul

The peak event is recorded in Naranjo on the Hieroglyphic Stairway (Fig.199). Naranjo, the defeated site, had to record its own defeat. It was forced upon them by combined forces of Calakmul and Caracol. This is an event before the peak event (9.9.17.11.14 or Oct.1, 630) or the death of the Calakmul king named here (B2). This passage here dates to 9.9.18.16.3 (December 24, 631). On that date we have a Star War (C) glyph with streams of water falling down the sides of the Naranjo toponym, so this was a Star War against Naranjo. (Simon mentions that this name here (an u sign over a hand with a fire sign below B2) does occur on Caracol Stela 22 in close association with a Calakmul emblem glyph and he dies. He is the same guy associated with earlier wars, but the new wars of the final conquest seem to have someone else involved and it's very clear that this was a Calakmul king. (Nikolai) The peak event then is this Star War against Naranjo and the "seat of" u kun (D) the Naranjo king. The following verb reads k'uxah (E). K'ux means "to torture" and k'uxah means "it was tortured so something was tortured. The next glyph records the title for Naranjo kings "Sac Chuwen" (F) followed by u kahi (G) "by the doing of" Yukumil (H) "the Joiner" which is a Calakmul royal title and here is the Calakmul emblem glyph (I). This happened at ta' ox te tun (J) ah naab tunich (K). Ox te tun is a place name for the center of Calakmul. Perhaps they took the Naranjo king and kept him as a prisoner at Calakmul, where he was tortured and probably, publicly displayed. Here on Caracol Stela 3 (right in Fig.199) we have the Star War event again (B2) done to Naranjo followed by u kahi "by the doing of" (A3) and this is a u kun title (B3). I think following this is a form of the Calakmul emblem glyph (A4) and the ox te tun place name is here (second half of A4) followed by another title at B4 which we have not yet deciphered.

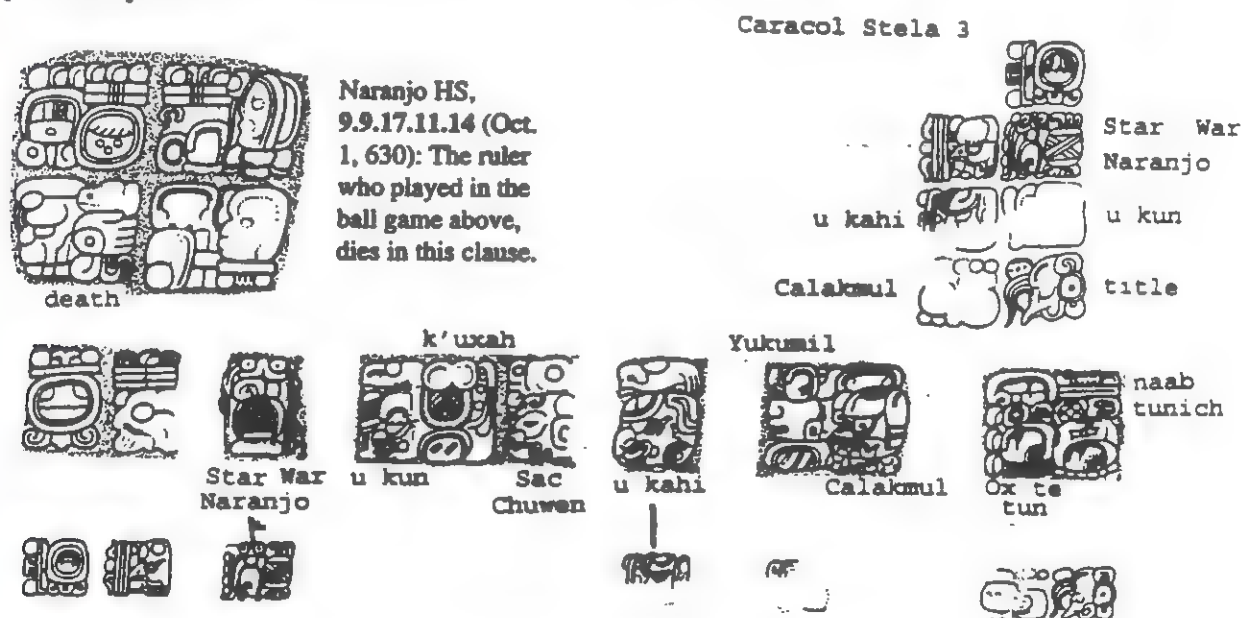


Fig.199

What happens then is that Caracol did all the previous wars and did all of the attacks against Naranjo and now finally the peak war or the great Star War which really finishes up with Naranjo and ends the Naranjo dynasty is credited to Calakmul and not to Caracol anymore. This really puts Calakmul in the position of the superordinate polity and Caracol in the subordinate position.

(Linda) The next piece of information comes from Tikal. Now the Tikal record is very difficult during this period probably because

there were a series of defeats that they undergo over a period of about 150 years and I suspect what happened each time they were defeated was that the enemies got into downtown Tikal and broke many of the monuments. This means that we are missing whole parts of this history that I suspect were destroyed. The one piece of the history that did survive survived by a miracle. Burial 195 was in the building next to the one that Sian Kan K'awil was buried in and Stela 31 was eventually cached here. When the burial was opened it was discovered that the tomb had flooded repeatedly and was half way filled with mud. The mud had acted like a bowl to cast wooden objects that were in the tomb and the actual wood had rotted away. The archaeologists who worked on the burial had the presence of mind to inject plaster into the vacuums or the places where the wood had rotted. By doing that the archaeologists were able to pick up the stucco and the paint that was left in the negative molds. From that process, they were able to retrieve two beautiful bowls. One of these bowls had been overpainted and had essentially two layers and the other bowl had a single layer. In 1974 when Chris Jones first presented Peter and I with drawings of the Tikal material he asked me to write him my analysis of what the dynasty was like. In that article, I took these drawings and realized that there was a ruler on this and he was identified according to Peter's newly identified succession glyph as the 22nd Successor of the site (Fig.200). This would make him the ruler that succeeded Double Bird.

Tikal Burial 195
bowl

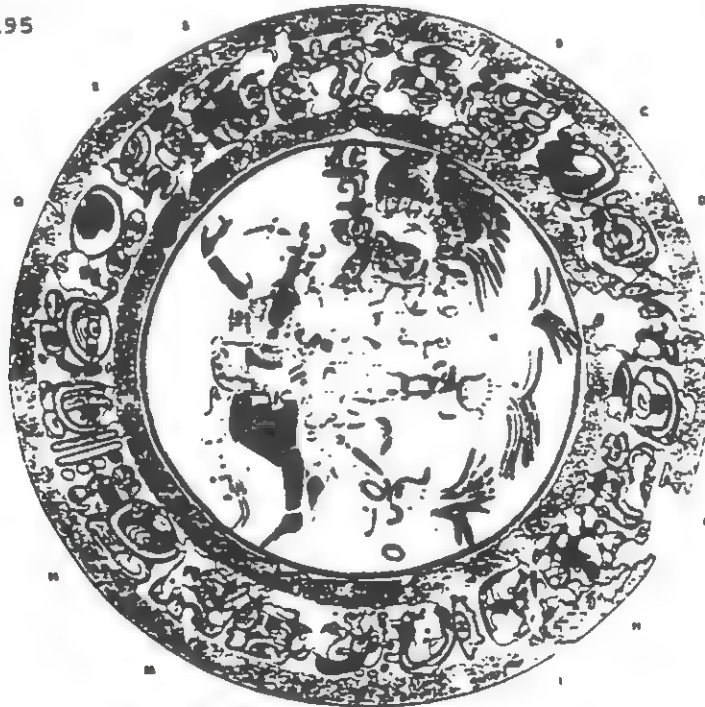


Fig.200

His name is very complicated (Fig.201). First of all, here is the Tikal emblem glyph (P). This is that 14 Te title (O). This is the Naab K'inich title (N). The personal name of the ruler is right here (L and M). Here is a name or title phrase here, yax, followed by nik (J) and a k'ul title (K). Even though this inscription is badly eroded you can still make out a sky/earth partition or kan kab tzuk (G) which is usually with this person's name. Now I called him Lizard Head. Chris called him Animal Skull. In reality it is a frog and this frog is now known to have the phonetic value of e. When the frog's nose is up it is known as sih or hu. It also has something in its mouth.

Tikal Burial 195
bowl

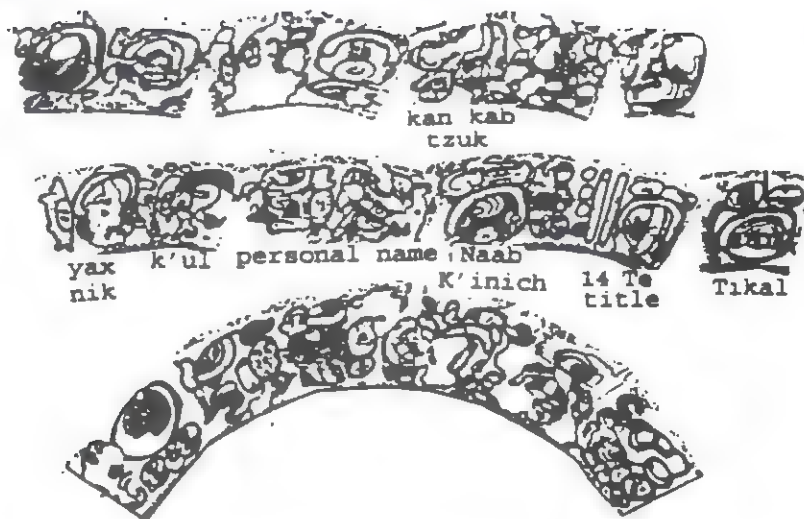


Fig. 201

In this case (Fig. 202) that stuff is clearly the perforator that is used in the ch'am glyph and in other cases it is something else. David Stuart back in 1985 identified all of this stuff that shows up in the mouth of the Pax God as te signs when they appear in the mouth's of things. That means that this name is either Te E or E Te and I think that we have evidence that it was E Te.

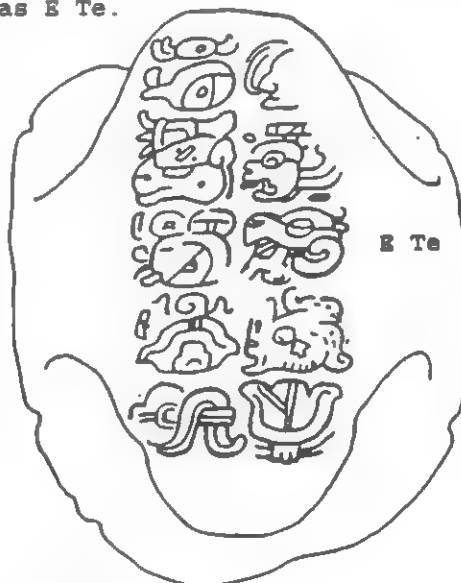


Fig. 202

This is another pot here (Fig. 203) and the name that we have been looking at is this one here (D). The first glyph at A contains the eye sign with the pa sign and a ni after it. We can not read that yet, but the next glyph is the Yax Nik "blue or black flower" (B) followed by the Sky over the Earth glyph or Kan Kab Tzuk (C). Here is the geometric form of the k'inich glyph (D) and the E Te name. He is clearly called the 22nd (E) Successor (F) of the Ahaw (G). Following that we have the name of his mother here (H-L) and the name of his father here (M and N).

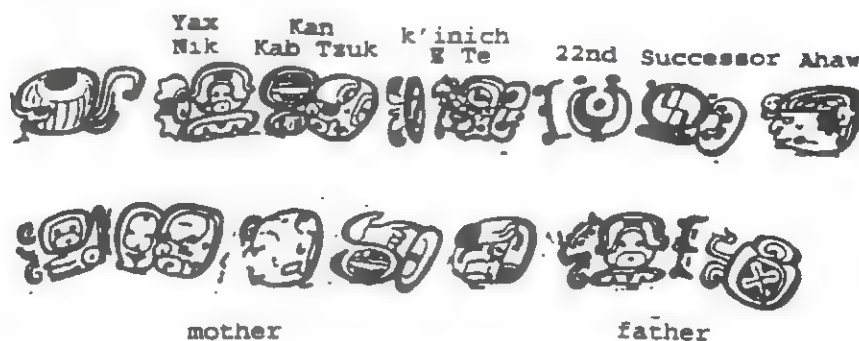


Fig.203

This name is also registered on the Temple of the Inscriptions where this name occurs with the frog and the regular te glyph as the actor on the event that is recorded at 5.0.0.0.0. This name is associated with the earliest recorded historical event right at the beginning of Olmec times. So I would not call this a mythological event. I would call it a legendary event where Tikal is tying itself to the beginning of civilization. It would be like us claiming that our political system evolved out of Athens.

We know almost nothing about this fellow E Te. In the tomb they found the negative molds of wooden pallets. Those negative molds were cast and drawings were made of them. They have the date of 9.8.0.0.0 and most everyone who has worked on Tikal history thought that this was his death date. That ends up being a very misplaced conclusion. This is the next king that we will see (Fig.204). This is Nu Bak Chak which will become very important. I've pointed out to Chris in a letter, dated to 1975, that Shield Skull's father is on this fragment that was found in the rubble of the central acropolis. Here is the name of the next king (C and D). Here is the "child of father" glyph right here (E) and that's the king's name (F). Chris said that this last name was Animal Skull. I don't think that this is the father and it's really a problem to me to think that Shield Skull is the son of E Te. I think he may be the grandson. I think that he may be the son of one of the two missing rulers in the line.



Fig.204

Steve Houston points out here that this is the Ah Na Bil Title (A) that we were talking about before. That maybe the word for "sculpture" and this is a ya in front of it. So this text maybe saying that this guy who is being recorded here is the "sculptor" for the king and that this is the father of the sculptor, not the father of the king.

(Linda) Last year Steve sent me a bunch of papers from Vanderbilt on the new Hieroglyphic Stairway at Dos Pilas just before the workshop. It arrived at my house just as I was preparing for that workshop, so I didn't have a chance to read them. But when Simon came over, he read it and at the end of the week he said to me that Steve and David had found Ruler 22 at Altar de Sacrificios. I didn't believe it, so we looked at the rubbings and photographs of the monuments there and at

the glyphs that Steve and David had identified as the name. I realized that they were right. This is the photograph of the passage that they were talking about (Fig.205). Altar de Sacrificios Stela 8 is very eroded. The date on this is 9.9.15.0.0. The text begins with u bah (A1) and the next glyph is too difficult to say for certain, but this glyph here (A2) is clearly the nik or "flower" sign. Now instead of having a blue sign in front, it has a black sign Ek which is a perfectly acceptable substitution and here is the sky over the earth partition or the Kan Kab Tzuk. This looks like the k'inich title here (B2) at the top and then here's this guy's name with the frog and the perforator in the frog's mouth.

Altar de Sacrificios Stela 8

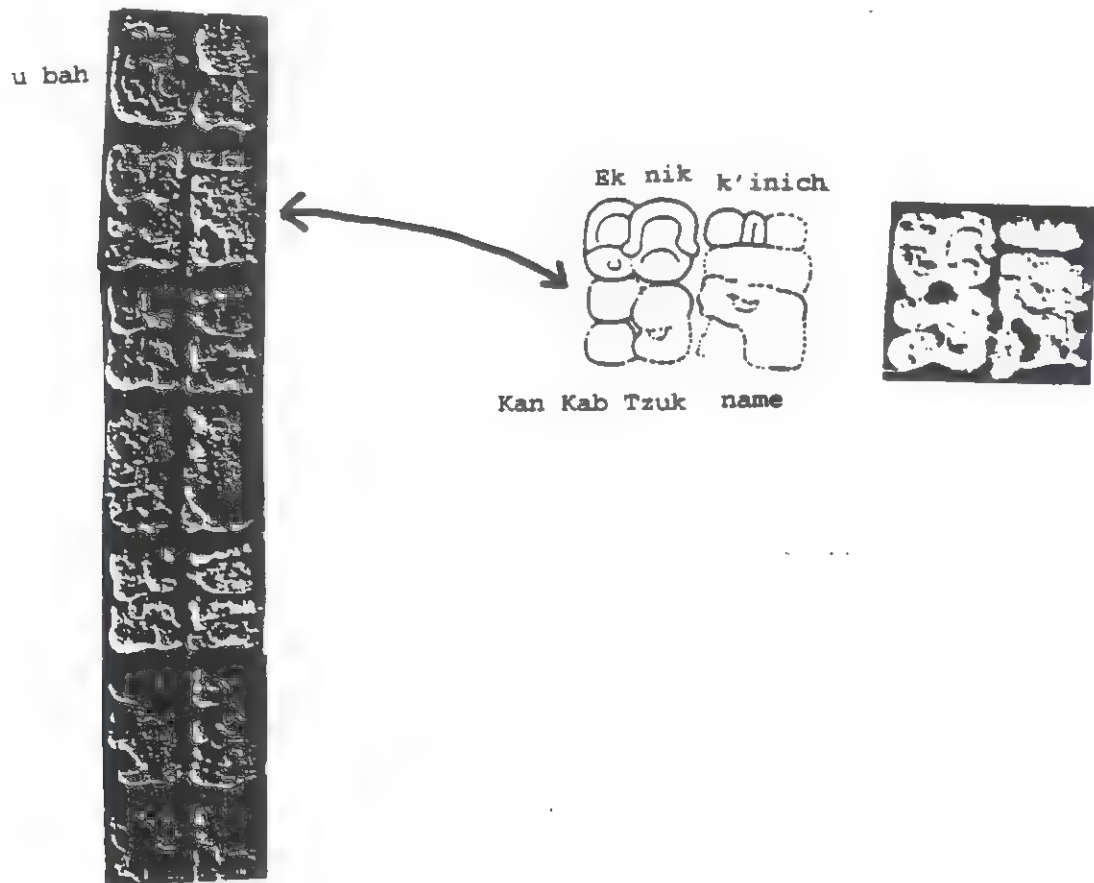


Fig.205

The point here is that this dates the Tikal king until this time. It gets him up to 9.9.15.0.0 which means that we have a very long-lived king, after the Caracol war. It opens up too that the Tikal king as he gets Caracol shut off and he gets Naranjo shut off, he goes in the opposite direction down to the southwest versus where Tikal had been expanding before to the southeast. Now it looks like to me that he is not the ruler because the ruler's name apparently is in this area right here (Fig.206 A8-B9) and he is the local ruler.

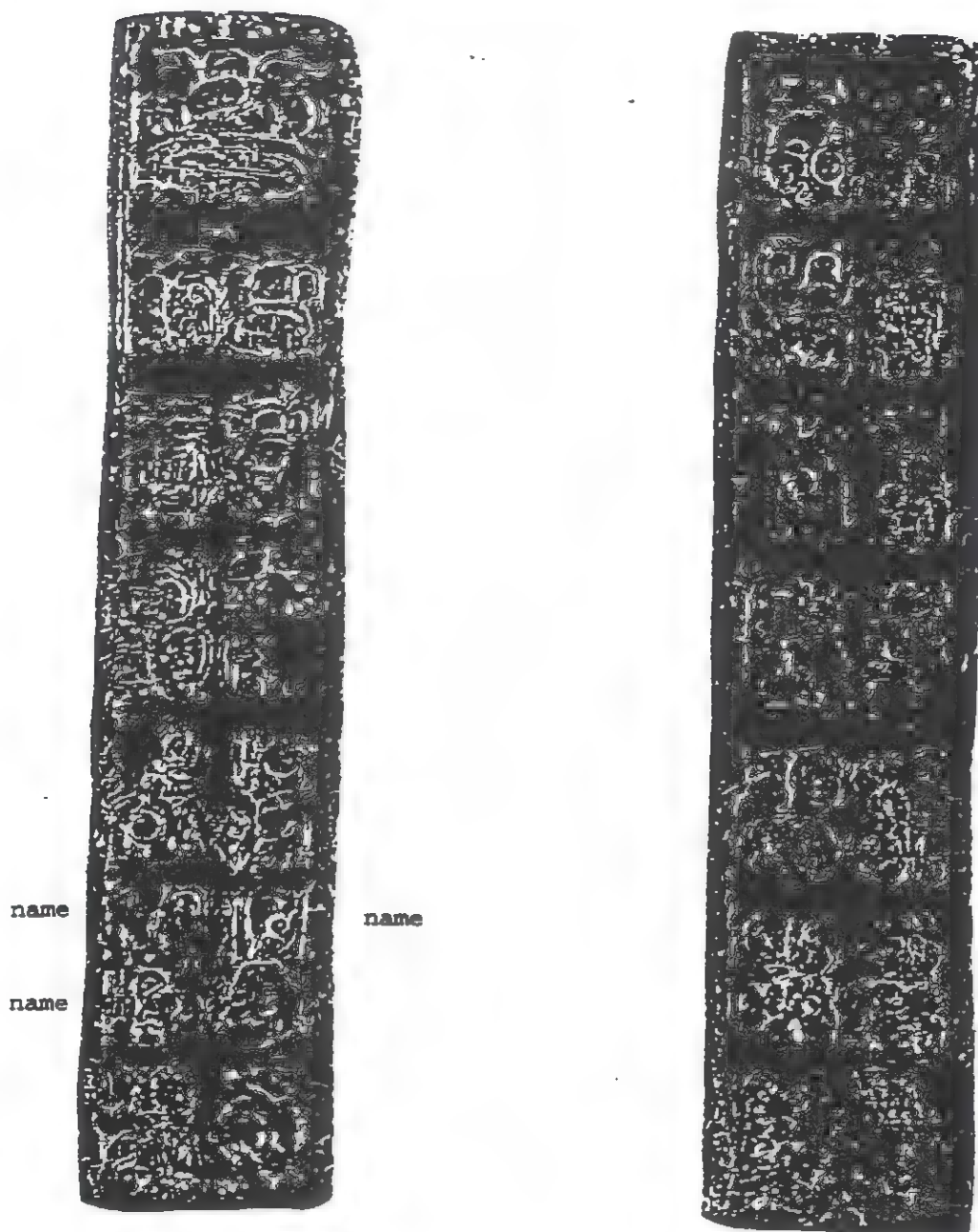
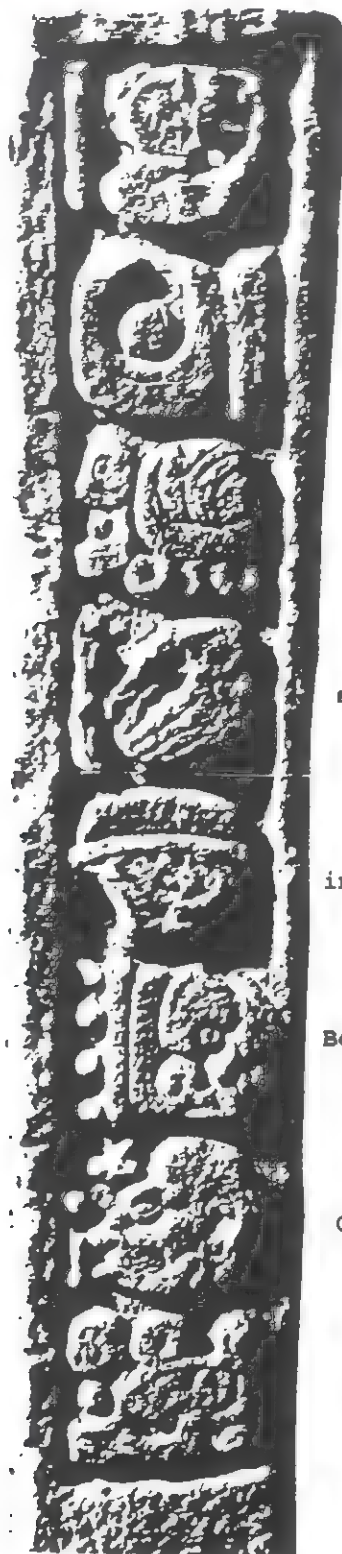


Fig.206

Here is another monument dated at about the same time (Fig.207) again from Altar de Sacrificios on Stela 9. Here you can see a scattering rite (A4) into a bowl (A5). This name here is Bolon K'ul (A6) Ok Te or Ok (A7) and he is called this sort of ahaw (A8) who has an antler. This appears to be the local ruler, but what it would suggest at this time is that there is either an alliance or this guy is recording a visit. It could also be that this guy is recording his subordination to the Tikal king at this moment. One way or another, Tikal and Ruler 22 have extended their influence into this region.

Altar de Sacrificios
Stela 9



scattering

into a bowl

Bolon K'ul

Ok Te

ahaw

Fig. 207

Federico asks here if there are any other glyphs at the bottom of these monuments that would record what precedes the u bah. (Linda) You're looking at the whole monument. This is the Period Ending here. This is the name of the local lord and then you get u bah. Then I'm not willing to commit to the next glyph. Whether this is saying "child of father" or whether it's saying "that they are doing two actions on the Period Ending", I can't be sure. We need to have these monuments drawn and Steve mentioned to me that he would like to because this is critical.

(Linda) We are down to the last three hours of this workshop and we are only half way through, so that means that we are going to begin to accelerate. This means that we are probably going to skip over a lot of the texts that have sort of auxiliary or interesting side information and jump ahead. I'd also like to mention one other thing. Lloyd Anderson came up to me during the break and forcefully reminded me that he was the first person to suggest and realize that there was only one Jaguar Paw and he doesn't accept any of the history as we presented it on Stela 31. He has written a paper on his alternative and I would suggest that you see him after the end of today's session and get his version of it so that you can compare the two versions and make up your own mind.

Basically, the first thing that we were going to start out with this afternoon is the series of events from Caracol, Morales, Naranjo, and other places to show the variety of places that celebrated the end of the 10th k'atun. (Nikolai) We did this because we thought at one time this information might become relevant because it contains names and sometimes parentage expressions, but we will just go over the material that concentrates more on the important war issues.

LATE CLASSIC WARFARE (9.10.3.2.12 - 9.10.17.2.14)

(Linda) Let's go then to the Naranjo texts where we have the date 9.10.3.2.12 (Mar.1, 636) (Fig.208). Here's the date (A1) and here again we have a shell event (B1). This is u tok' pakal "his flint shield or banner" of the waxaklahun u bah (A2) and this is the name of the great War Serpent banner. We can't read the next glyph (second half of A2), but this is u kahi "by the doing of" yukun which is a war title for the Calakmul king (B2). This means that we have a Star War event recorded at Naranjo on the Hieroglyphic Stairway against the snake battle banners of Calakmul.

Naranjo Hieroglyphic Stairway

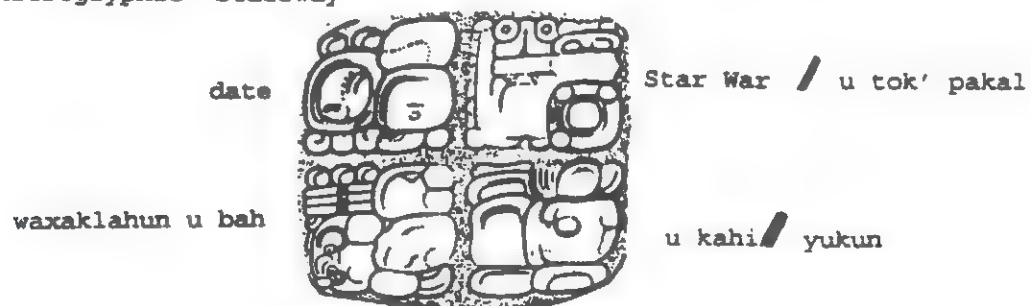
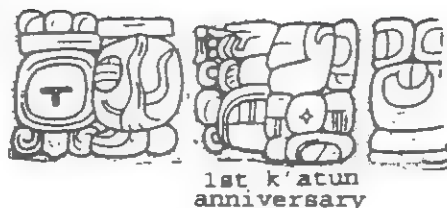


Fig.208

This text is also from the Naranjo Hieroglyphic Stairway (Fig.209) and it basically shows the celebration of the 1st k'atun anniversary (B) of the Caracol king's accession. This is to show you that they are not only celebrating their own victories, but they are also making sure that they celebrate the political history of Caracol written at Naranjo.

Naranjo Hieroglyphic Stairway



1st k'atun anniversary

Fig. 209

(Nikolai) All we can say about this small text from Site Q (Fig. 210) that dates from 9.10.6.0.9 (Jan. 2, 639) is that we have some kind of throne event (A2) that takes place with a person before they become king. This is Chak Naab (A3) Chan (B3), the guy that was born in the earlier text.

Site Q

throne event

Chak Naab

Chan

Fig. 210

This accession event or throne event also shows up in a number of very obscure places (Fig. 211).

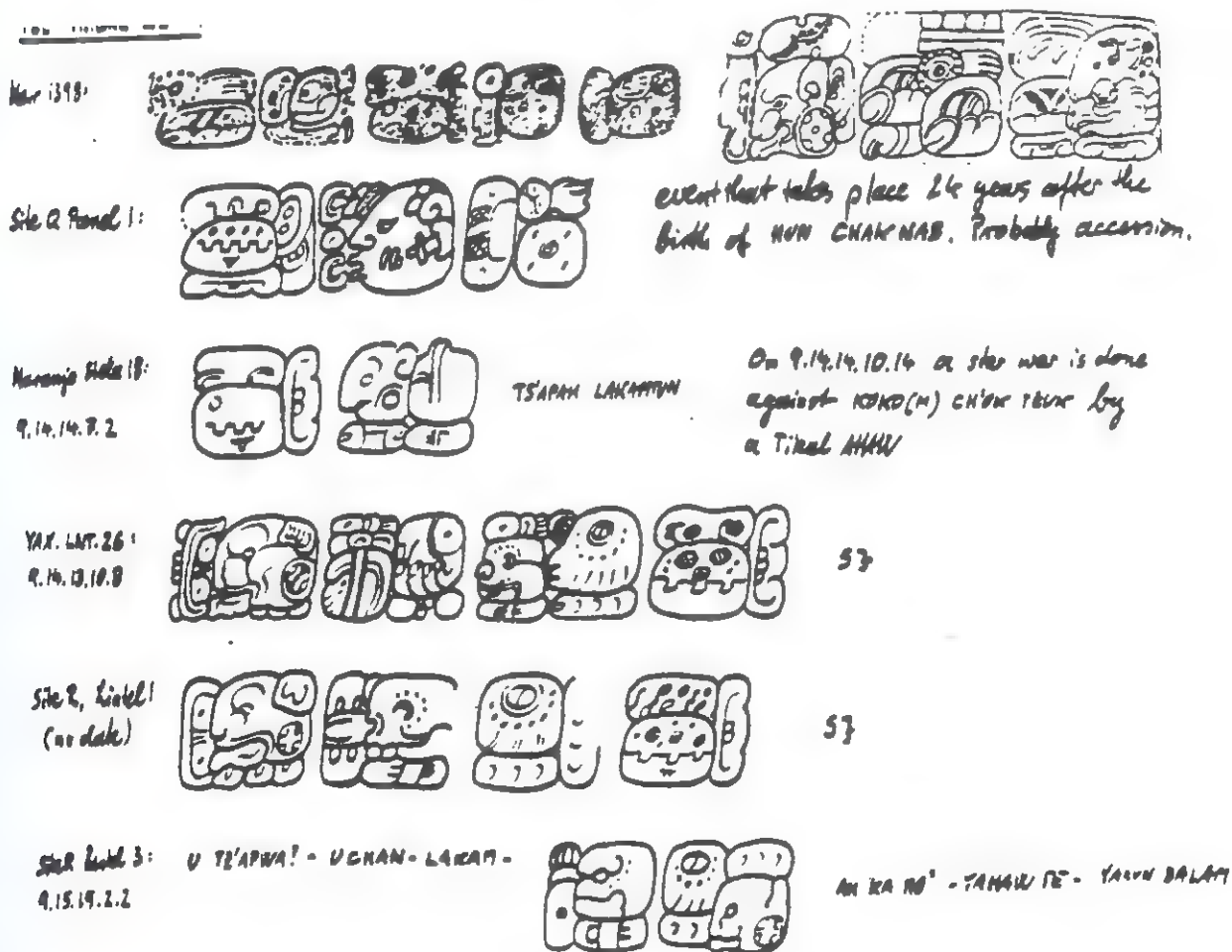


Fig. 211

(Linda) We will now return to Piedras Negras (Fig.212) to see what's going on in this region. These are two looted panels, one in Brussels and one in Denver (Figures 212-213), they are not complete. The text on one of the panels lead directly into the text on the other panel though. I think that this is the name of Ruler 1 (A1 B1) of Piedras Negras. It has the Ok and the yo in front followed by a nal above and most importantly it has the ahaw k'in title which is part of Ruler 1's name. This is really weird because he is the actor of the event and then we have u kahi (A2) the 2 k'atun (B2) ballplayer (A3) followed by Kab Chan Te title (B3) that we know is a title that goes with the Sak Tzi' ruler. So something was going on here where the Piedras Negras ruler is doing something that is stimulated or caused by the ruler from Sak Tzi'. Then we go forward 5 winals (A4) from this day (B4) to this one (C1). Then we have a scattering of fire (D1) at a place written with a flower sign nik over a parrot head followed by a rabbit, a ku glyph or tun glyph and ahaw (C2). This seems to be a place name because the next thing that we see here (D2) is the tu kun "at his seat" Kab Chan Te followed by Sak Tzi' Ahaw Bakab (C3).

Piedras Negras looted panels

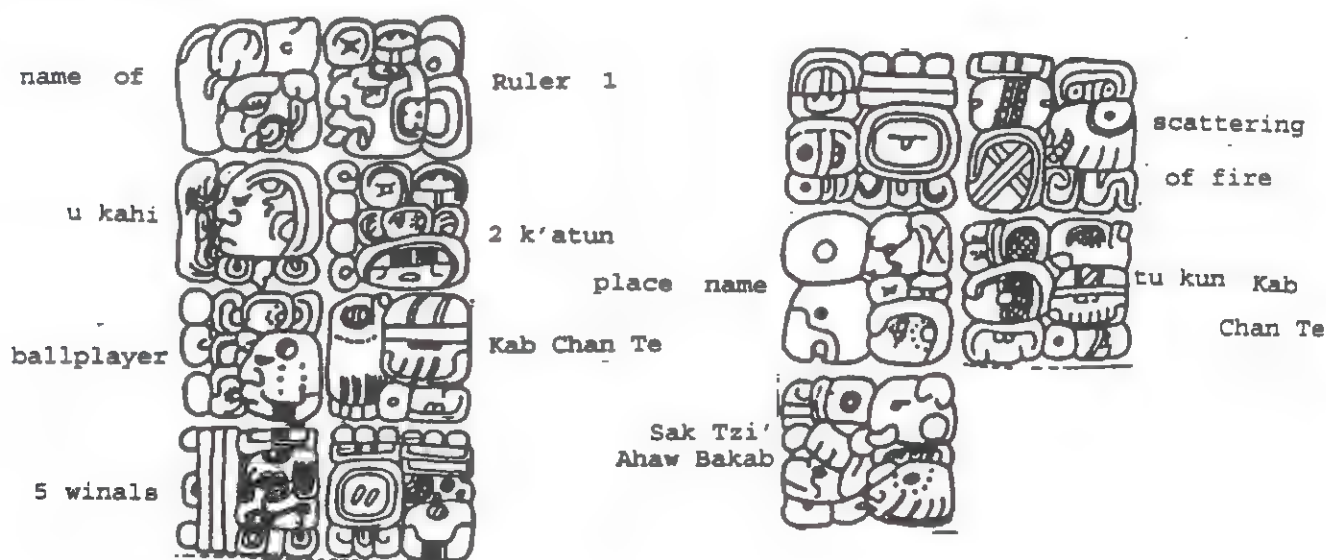


Fig.212

Now when you move to the panel which is 1 day forward (Fig.213) where we have this event (B2) which is associated with chak ba or an axing event done against this thing of that same place (A3 the Rabbit/Stone Place). I suspect that it's a god that is axed. It is done u kahi (B3) "by" the 2 k'atun ahaw (A4) Kab Chan Te (B4) and here is called the K'in Ahaw (A5). This has an u sign in front of it and I'm not quite sure what that means, but it must be a possessed form of K'in Ahaw. The next day is 2 Kan and one day after that is 3 Chikchan (D1), so we have three days in a row. Next we have a capture of Star Macaw (C2) from Bonampak (D2). So this site is now a captive of Bonampak. Then we have that this person who was captured is the yitah (second half of D2) "the companion of" this person named here (C3) K'ab Kan Te. Then on the next day after that (D3) we have a rabbit ka event which we do not know how to read, but may have to deal with Venus. This then all happens to the companion (first half of C4) followed by the names of other people (D4-D5). These may be different people or these just might be very long alternative names of one person. At the end we have the same verb again (first half of A6) and now we are told that it was

done "in the company of" the Kab Chan Te who is the Sak Tzi' Ahaw (B6). This means that at the middle of k'atun 10 this passage sets up the battles in the Sak Tzi' area against Bonampak.

Piedras Negras looted panels

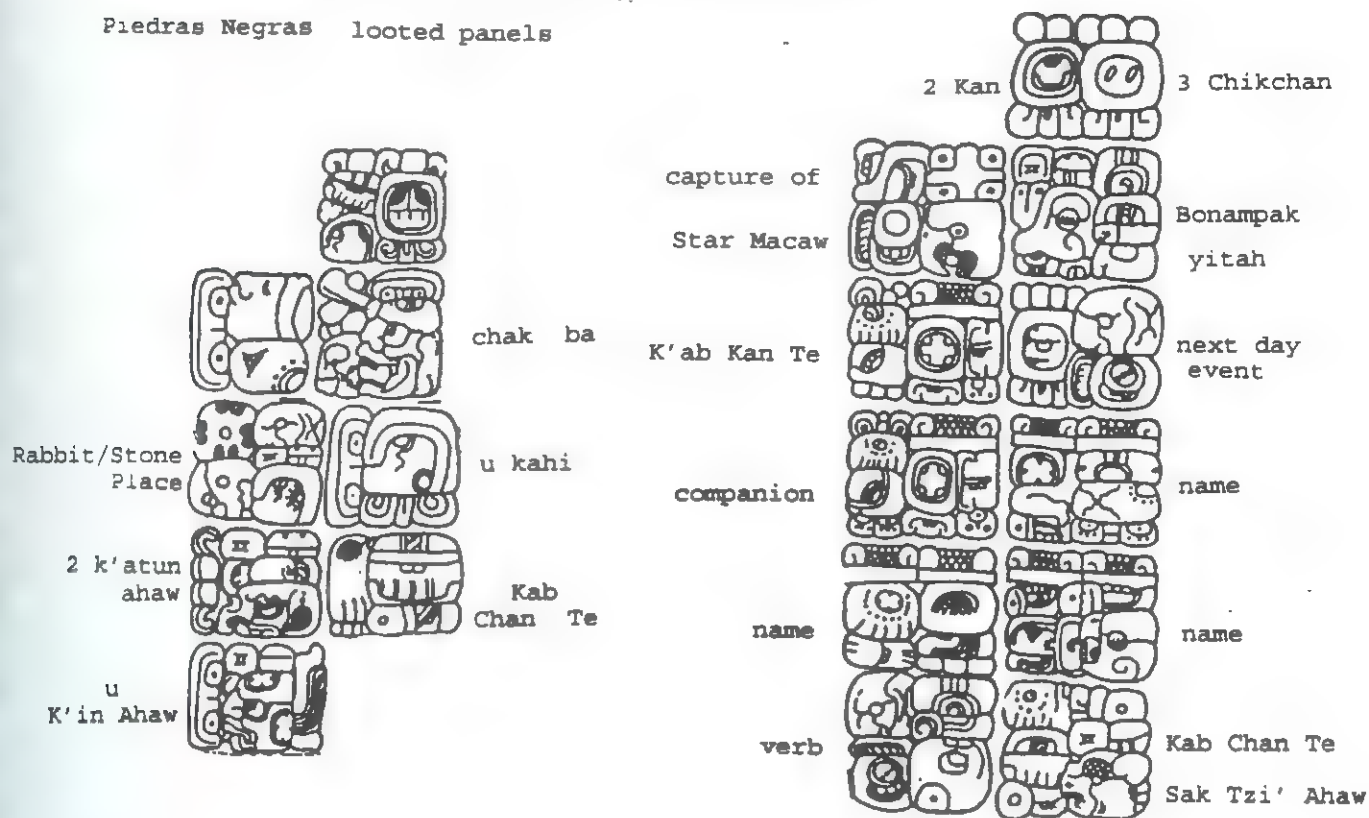


Fig.213

What we have here is the date 9.10.12.3.10 (Jan.31, 645) and a series of war events involving Tortuguero and toponyms that are associated with Pomocalco. As you remember from dealing with Palenque history it has been hit three straight times by battles, during the first ten years of Pakal's lifetime and in the first years of his reign. This appears to be his attempt to stabilize the western side of his kingdom and set that straight so that he can aim himself and turn around and take vengeance. The first one that we have is on a monument from Tortuguero. It begins with an iwal followed by ch'akah (B2) and unfortunately the rest of the passage is eroded (Fig.214).

Tortuguero monument

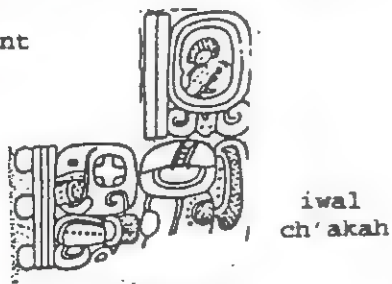


Fig.214

(Nikolai) Shortly thereafter at Site Q (Fig.215) we have another birth event recorded (B2) for the day 9.10.12.4.8 (Feb.18, 645). Here is the name of the king (A3) K'inich Hel (read k'inich, he and the dog head is read le). He was "the child of" (B3) Lady (A4) Wa (B4) Wak Chan (A5) Lady Chak (B5) Tok' "Red Cloud". Chak (A6) u (B6) nichil "the child of" (A7) Chak Nab (B7) Chan (A8) which is a person that we have seen before on the other Site Q panels to be seated on the throne.

Site Q panel

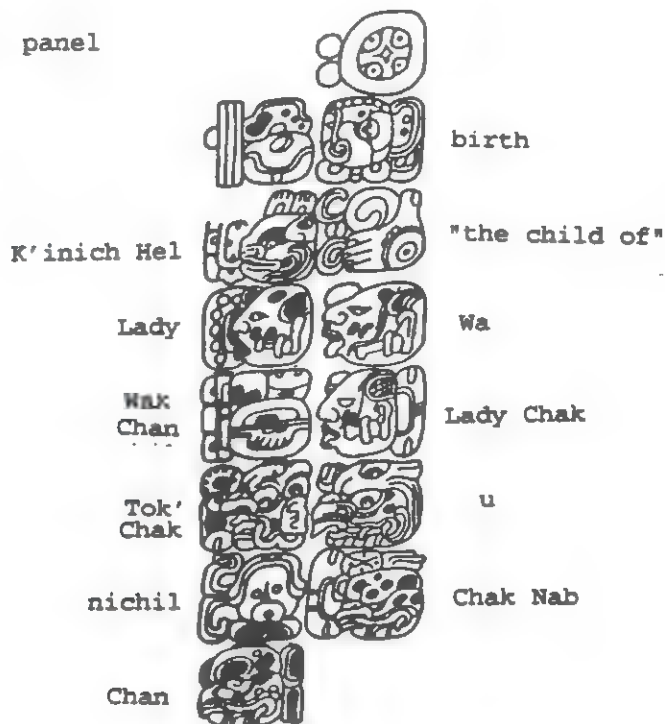


Fig.215

We will now continue at Yaxchilan on the Hieroglyphic Stairway #2 (9.10.14.13.0 or July 30, 647) (Fig.216). Here we have a capture event (A2) in the first glyph of a person who is named here in these glyphs (A2 B2) and he is from Ix Witz "Jaguar Mountain" which is still an unidentified place in the greater Usumacinta area. The captive is a yet "the companion of" this king (second half of A3 to B3) of Yaxchilan (A8). He has a very long series of titles here (A4-B6). These titles include the 4 k'atun k'awil title and the 4 k'atun chak te title. He is the "captor of" (A7) Yax Hal Te (B7) and he is an Ah Wak Tun Yak Balam, the divine lord of Yaxchilan. He is the father of Shield Jaguar the Great.

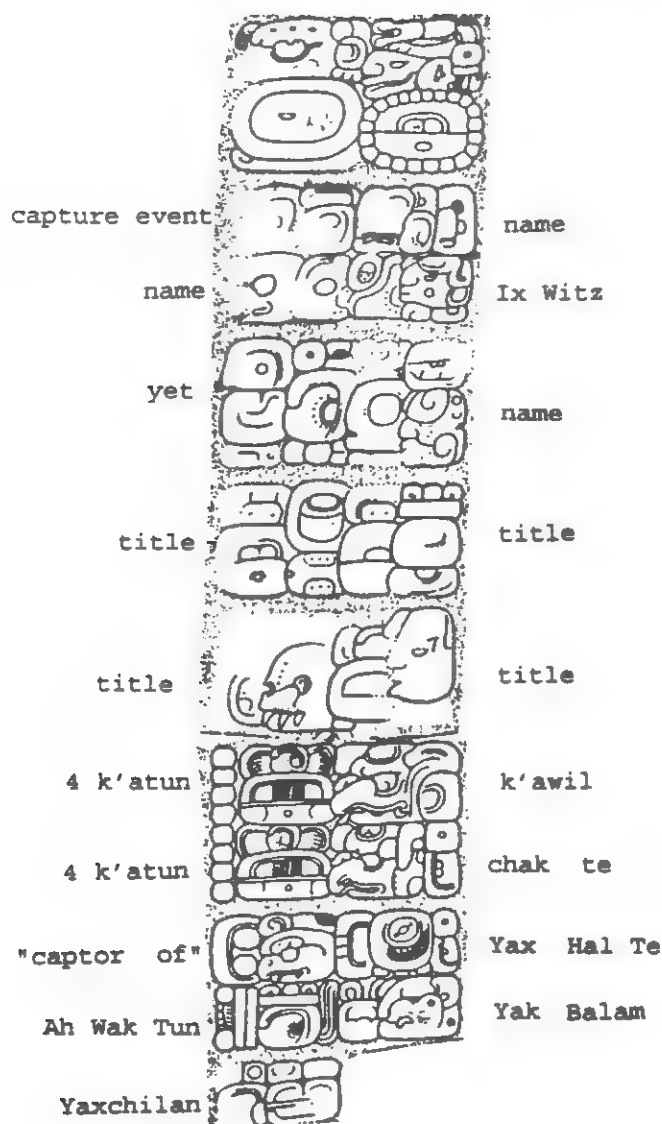


Fig.216

(Linda) Now this is really tentative and I'm hoping that Simon will be able to help us by looking at the original monument in the British Museum. When I was looking at the Pusilja monuments to see if there was anything worth putting in the workbook I discovered something that really scared me to death. I put it in this workbook because all of the other Pusilja stuff that is in here is to get at this next passage (Fig.217). This is the last dedication phrase for the monument that was erected. The date of the erection was 9.10.15.0.0 (Nov.7, 647). This is Pusilja Stela D. The erection is recorded up in here (A2 to B2). The name of the Pusilja lord is in this area here (A3 B3). Then we have u kahi (A4) followed by a name at B4 that I couldn't believe. This is the so-called Pusilja emblem glyph (B5). Now everybody for a long time has been commenting that it is the same emblem glyph as Quirigua, but Nikolai and I think that Quirigua's emblem glyph just says Tzuk Ahaw which is "partition or barrio or province lord." It registers at Quirigua as a province of Copan. This appears to be Tzuk Ahaw and this name right here at B4 that has a smoke sign and a half-head with a sky glyph infix in the middle of the head is followed by a na below. The next sign reads k'ul (A5). It looks to me like there was a very good possibility that this is the name of the contemporary king at Copan who was called Smoke Imix God K.

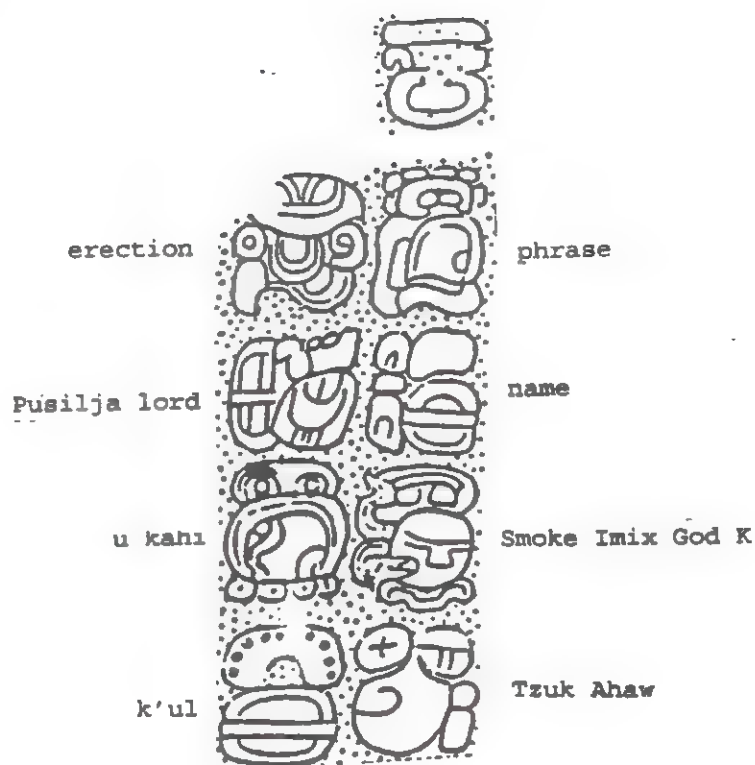


Fig.217

I then started looking through all of the Morley photographs in his Inscriptions of the Peten of the Pusilja monuments. Most of the photos are very small, but Stela M (Fig.218) was photographed better and this is my drawing of it. Here we have a hun tan (A6). This should be the u bah (B5). This is the Tzuk Ahaw (A5). This is k'awil (B4). This looks exactly the way the Imix glyph is done in many of these inscriptions at Copan (A4) and this is the smoke (B3) and the half-head glyph with a u sign over the top. I think that this is the straight name from Copan. What we should have here is the u kahi (A2-A3) and up above that would be the name of the local Pusilja lord. This is very tentative. Do not take this as gospel until we have a chance to check the original monument at Pusilha. If this is correct, then that means we have another expanding kingdom down in the southeast and by this Copan may have extended its hegemony up into that southern area of Belize.

Pusilja Stela M

name of

Pusilja lord

u kahi

Smoke

Imix

God K
k'awil

Tzuk Ahaw

u bah

hun tan

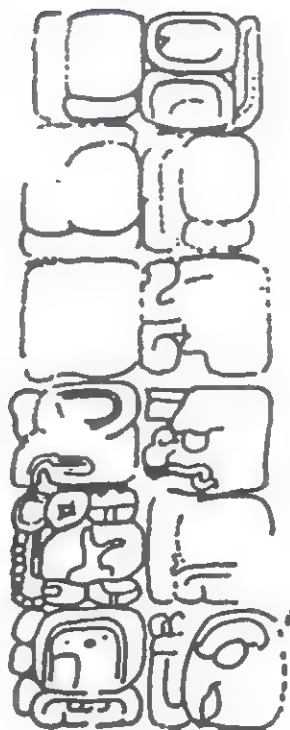


Fig.218

(Nikolai) There is actually evidence that many sites in southern Belize are emulating or copying iconography and architecture from Copan and Quirigua, like at Nim Li Punit where we also have the same place names which refer to the inscriptions of Quirigua and Copan.

Now we go to Dos Pilas (Fig.219) which is one of the most important and interesting parts of the whole story. This is Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 1, Step IV. At 9.10.15.4.9 (Feb.4, 648) we have the first war recorded at Dos Pilas. It's recorded as hubuy "it was downed" (C1) u tok' "his flint" (B2) u pakal "his shield" (C2). The owner of the war banner was called la ma (D1) na (E1) k'awil (D2) or Lam Nah K'awil. We have no idea who he is. This war was done u kahi (E2) "by the action of" Ba Lah (F1) Chan (G1) K'awil (F2). This is the person Steve Houston calls Ruler I of Dos Pilas. He carries all of these titles (G2-I1). Here he is called a Bate (H1). Here he is called a Pitz (I1). Bate is a ballgame title. Pitzil means that he is a ballplayer and he is a U Nab K'inich (H2) which is a special title written on the battle shield he is carrying on one of the stela at Dos Pilas. He is a Mutul Ahaw (I2). Dos Pilas uses the same emblem glyph as Tikal because Dos Pilas in some way was an offspring of the Tikal dynasty or Dos Pilas claimed to have the same origin as the Tikal dynasty. The question here is how the dynasty of Dos Pilas was founded or separated from Tikal. We don't know yet exactly, but it is very likely that what we have seen at Altar de Sacrificios is that the Tikal presence there also contributed to the foundation of Dos Pilas. (Linda) The accession of this king is 9.9.12.11.2. The date on the names at Altar de Sacrificios is 9.9.15.0.0. So this king accedes at Dos Pilas and less than 3 years later the person who may be his father shows up in the inscriptions of Altar de Sacrificios. (Nikolai) The most important thing is contained in the last four glyphs. Here we have the yahaw (J1), so this Dos Pilas king is a yahaw or "vassal lord" of Yukum (K1) Kun (J2) or the person who carries the Calakmul ruler title and he is a k'ul kan ahaw (J2), so he is a "divine lord of Calakmul." Dos Pilas, like Naranjo and Caracol, was a vassal state of Calakmul.

Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 1, Step IV

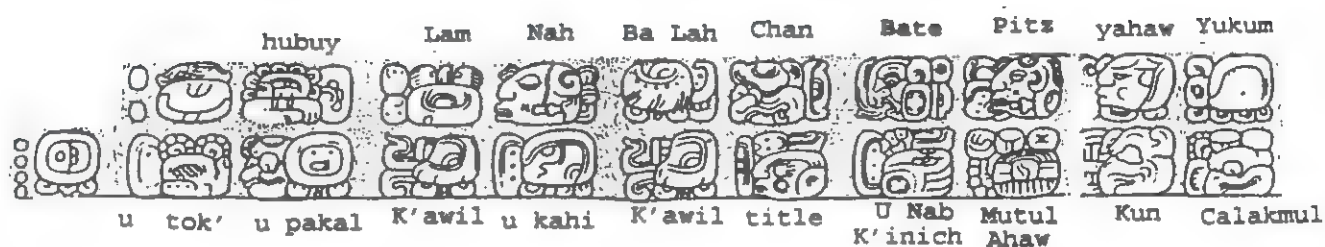
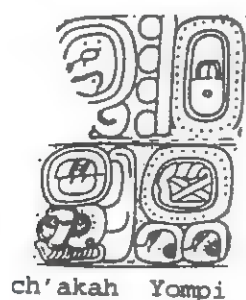


Fig.219

(Linda) Now at the same time that the wars are beginning in the middle of the Petexbatun, Palenque's wars extend on their western frontier. This is Tortuguero Monument 6 (Fig.220 left) and this is from the Tortuguero Sarcophagus (Fig.220 right). Both of these inscriptions begin with same date which is 9.10.16.13.6 (July 25, 649). Here we have the ch'akah verb (A2) and it is a ch'akah against a location (B2). The location is read Yo Mo Pi or Yompi and that is one of the place names that shows up in the bricks of Comalcalco. This we think refers to the region around or in Comalcalco. On the Sarcophagus the verb is less clear (C-E), but what we have here at the end of the passage is Yompi Ahaw (I) and here are the names of the person who was probably captured (F-H). It almost looks like this could be "the child of father" glyph here (F) which would make this name here (G-H) the names of the father and this the name of the protagonist (C-E) is unfortunately broken.



ch'akah Yompi



verb name child
of father name Yompi
Ahaw

Fig.220

Very shortly, thereafter, on 9.10.16.15.0 (Aug.28, 649) recorded on Tortuguero Monument 6 (Fig.221) we have another event that involves the use of the God A[^] head (B) followed by another glyph (C) that we can not yet read. This undeciphered verb involves a woman because here is her name (D-F).

Tortuguero Monument 6

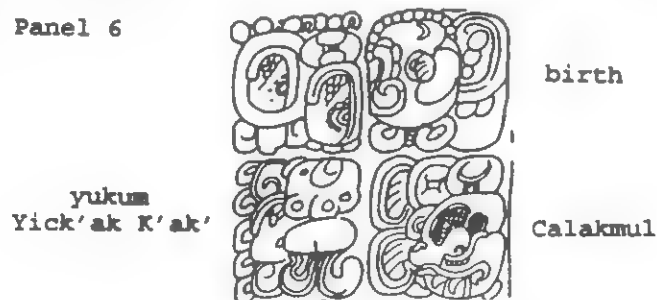


God A[^] name name

Fig.221

(Nikolai) Now 9.10.16.16.19 (Oct.6, 649) is a very important date (Fig. 222). It is the birth (B1) date of king Yick'ak K'ak' (A2) of Calakmul (B2). His name is "Jaguar Paw Fire." In the literature he is normally known as Jaguar Paw. He carries a yukum (first part of name in A2) title even though he is one of the most important kings of Calakmul.

Site Q Glyphic Panel 6



yukum
Yick'ak K'ak'

birth

Calakmul

Fig.222

(Linda) Here on the Tortuguero Sarcophagus (Fig.223) in a very close date, you can see that there are two dates 9.10.17.1.2. and 9.10.17.1.9 (Nov.18 and Nov.25, 649) again with war events. Here is the capture (C) and then on the second date we have a ch'akah (E) against another person or place here (F). This indicates that there is a whole series of battles against different people and places.

Tortuguero Sarcophagus



Fig.223

Then we go to the principle inscription at Tortuguero (Monument 6, Fig.224) that records the date 9.10.17.2.14 (Dec.20, 649). I haven't begun to show you the astronomy because we do not have enough time, but many of these principle events are timed by astronomy. This is the Star War verb (A3) against the u tok' pakal (B3) of a man named Ox Balam (A4) and he is a Hok' Kan Ahaw (B4). You can see from a set of earflares that record the same date from Ox Balam's tomb we have the Star War verb (star over earth) (C) and then we have Na Ho Chan (D). Here on the Tortuguero Sarcophagus we have the date (A-B) and the Star War verb against Ah Hok' Kan (C). Hok' Kan or Chan is another one of the locations that shows up on the bricks of Comalcalco and I think that this one is the name of the Comalcalco polity and it is under severe attack. As we move further down the Sarcophagus we find a chukah capture here (A) followed by a series of names. This fellow is an Itz'at (C) and he is called a Chan Tzat or Chuwen here (D). This is probably some of the artisans and the scribes from this town that are taken at the same time perhaps that the king is taken. Here we have what looks like bat ha (F) and this kan (G). Then we find out that the person who "did it" u kahi (A) was Balam Ahaw (B) Ch'ahom "the scatterer" (D) Yahaw te the "tree lord" (E). There may be a second verb here (G) and then there is a glyph that seems to be "black or cloudy" (H) followed by another series of glyphs. I just wanted to show you this inscription from a wooden box that Mike Coe has published. It records the next lord who succeeds him with that name (B1) so this is apparently the heir apparent who goes to battle with him. Now when we go back over to the main text of Tortuguero Monument 6 we have the nab event here (A5) that we think may be that painting of bones with red ochre. This is a ballcourt and below it is the same death skull which may be the name of the ballcourt (B5) that we saw on Naranjo Altar 1. This next glyph (A6) we can not read yet, but we think it's related to a verb at Palenque that has to do with apotheosis. It is done against U Sak Nik Nal (B6) which is the word for "soul" at this (A7) and the actor here is Balam Ahaw (B7) who uses the Palenque emblem glyph. This means that he is a lord of the Palenque polity. This passage then refers to the capture or the throwing down of the banner of this guy in ballcourt events which probably involve a sacrifice and this nab event which may have to do with the taking of bones. This is the same event that I told you to remember at Naranjo and now it is done in the context of war and the ballgame.

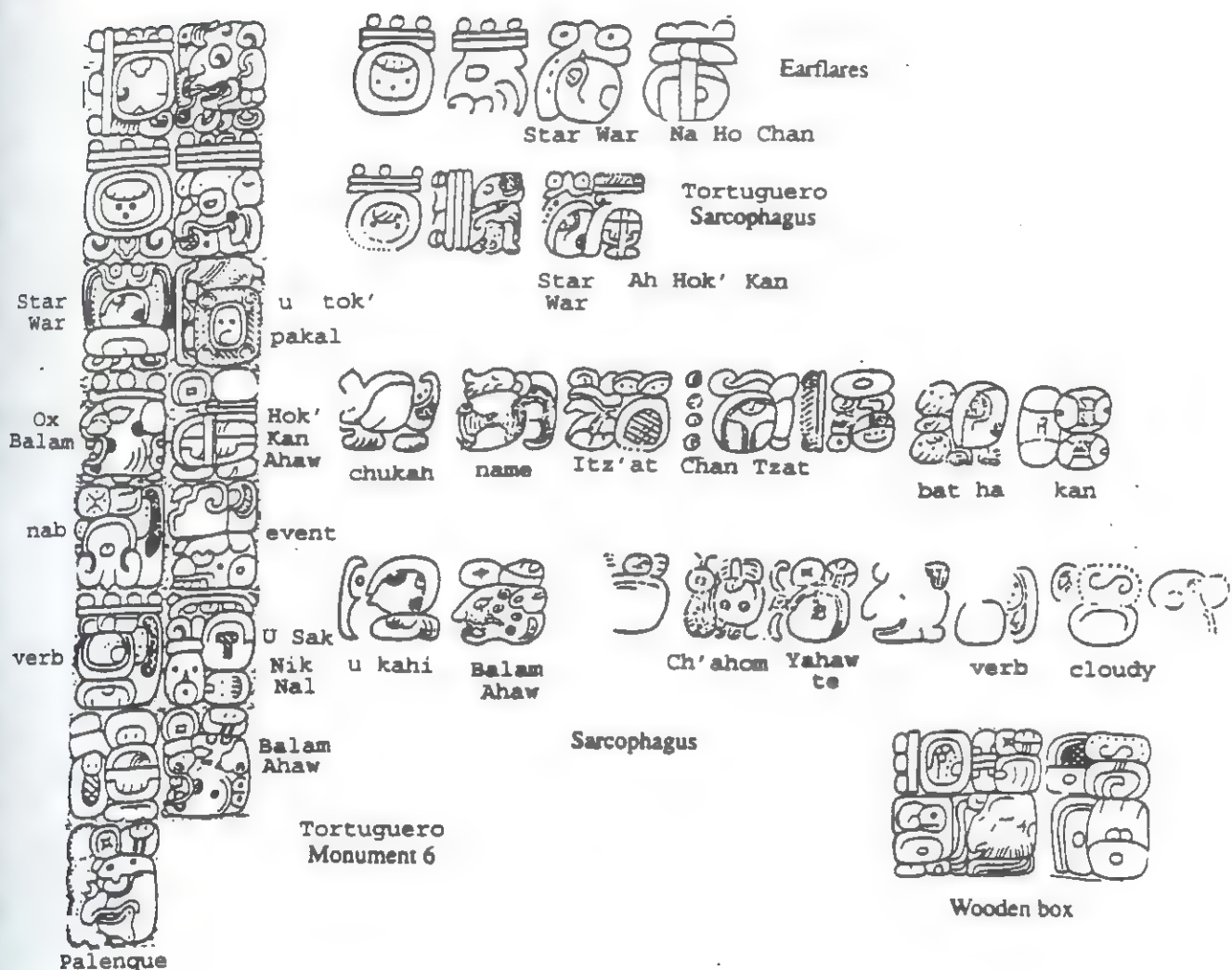


Fig.224

LATE CLASSIC WARFARE (9.11.0.11.1 - 9.11.16.2.8)

Now this panel that you see here (Fig.225) is a new looted one that related events at Cancuen or something in that region. (Nikolai) This is the Cancuen Panel and it dates to 9.11.0.11.1 (May 20, 653). The verb is och bih (B2) "he enters the road" which is a metaphor for "death." The person who dies is K'inich Kal (A3) Nal Ak (B3) and we have no translation for his name yet. This is also part of his name here (A4), maybe a title followed by uti "it happened at" (B4) Nab Tunich (A5). We have had this name very often already. It is always associated with Calakmul and it is associated in some way with the Calakmul sphere of influence.

Cancuen Panel

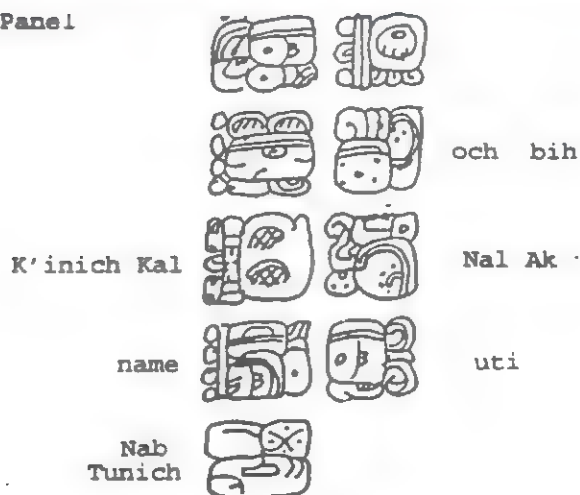


Fig.225

At 9.11.2.7.14 (Mar.4, 655) as recorded on Site Q Panel 2 (Fig.226) we have the accession of K'uk' Ahaw (A3).

Site Q Panel 2

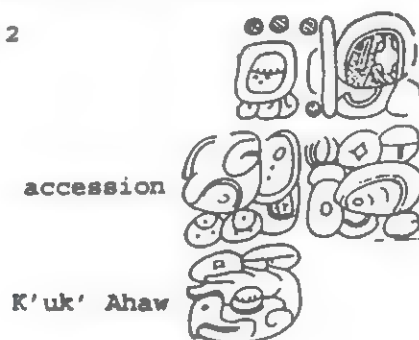


Fig.226

(Linda) The next event goes back to Tortuguero (Fig.227) and the date 9.11.2.17.0 (Sept.10, 655). Here we have the Star War verb (C) and now this event is conducted against someone named Ah Ox Te Ch'u (D) "He of the Three Tree Gods." Here is yet "he is the property of" (E) Balam Ahaw (F).

Tortuguero

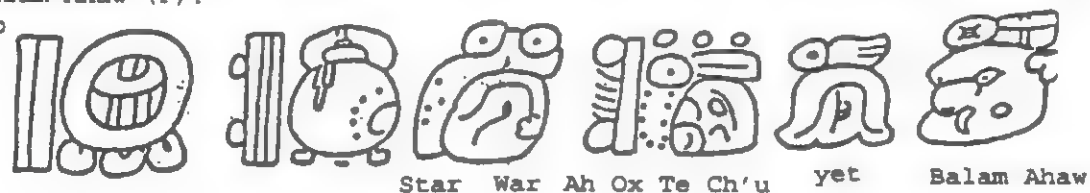


Fig.227

(Nikolai) I just want to mention that on Morales Stela 4 (Fig.228) we have the birth of the local lord on 9.11.3.5.14 (Jan.18, 656) (A2) and his parentage somewhere. This local lord becomes important in a later accession event.

birth

lord

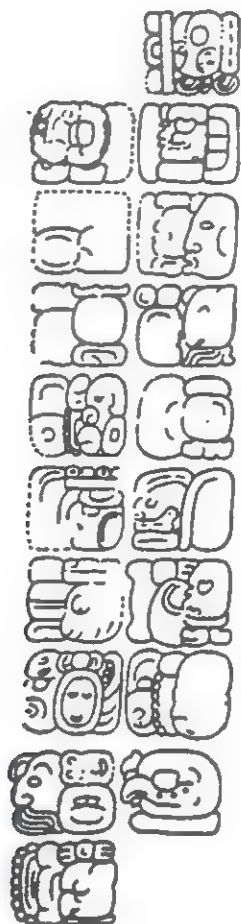


Fig.228

This is from Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, East, Step 1 (Fig. 229). There are four hieroglyphic stairways at Dos Pilas and this is a very long hieroglyphic text that commemorates a series of wars and attacks. This attack takes place on 9.11.4.5.14 (Jan.12, 657) and it is a Star War (C) against Mutul (D) u kahi "through the doing of" (E) a name of a Calakmul (G) king who carries the Yukum title (F). This then is an attack against Tikal by Calakmul and as a consequence we have a lok'i (G) verb. Lok' i means "he emerged, he came out, or he freed himself from danger" and here we have the name of the contemporary king of Tikal (H). His name was Shield Skull. The entire text has to be divided into several small sentences. There is another sentence starting here with a verb (I). We can not read the verb yet, but it concerns something which is sak pa (J) something (K). Then we have another verb here (L) which begins with the syllable nu and this sign which has not yet been deciphered followed by a ha which marks the verbal suffix. Certainly this verb has to do with some kind of result or accompanying action in connection with the Star War event. Shield Skull of Tikal is driven out. What this is, in fact, we do not know.

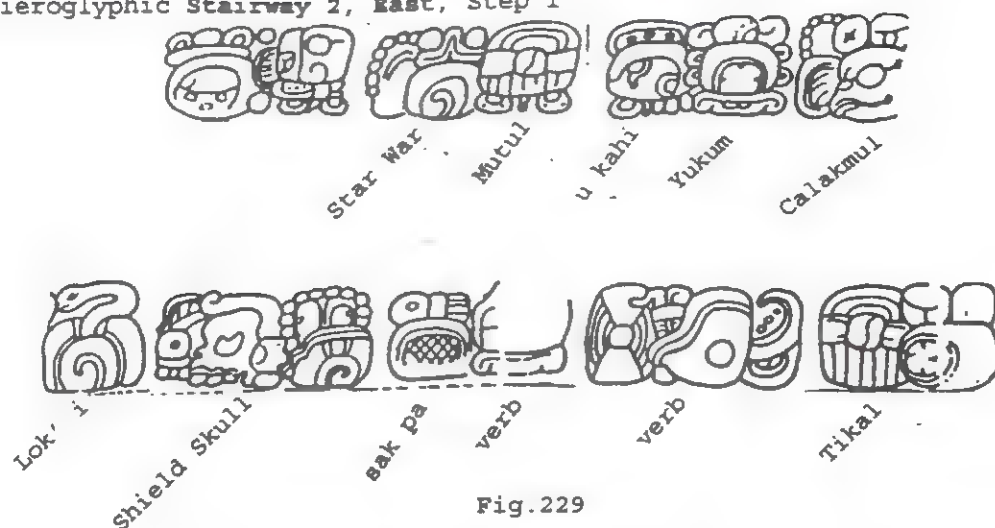


Fig.229

At Cancuen, a little bit later, (Cancuen panel Fig.230) on 9.11.4.-16.19 (Aug.25, 657) we "witness the arrival" huli' (A2) of Ch'ab Ahaw (B2) who is the local Cancuen king of his title and then "he was seated" (A3) or "placed" (we can not read this glyph, but we have a good idea of what it means). Then we have a series of place names introduced by a glyph that reads "was placed inside." Here he was placed at ma something ka (A4). He was placed inside tok winik (B4) mak (A5) pe ten "island" (B5) and the rest of the inscription is very opaque.

Cancuen panel

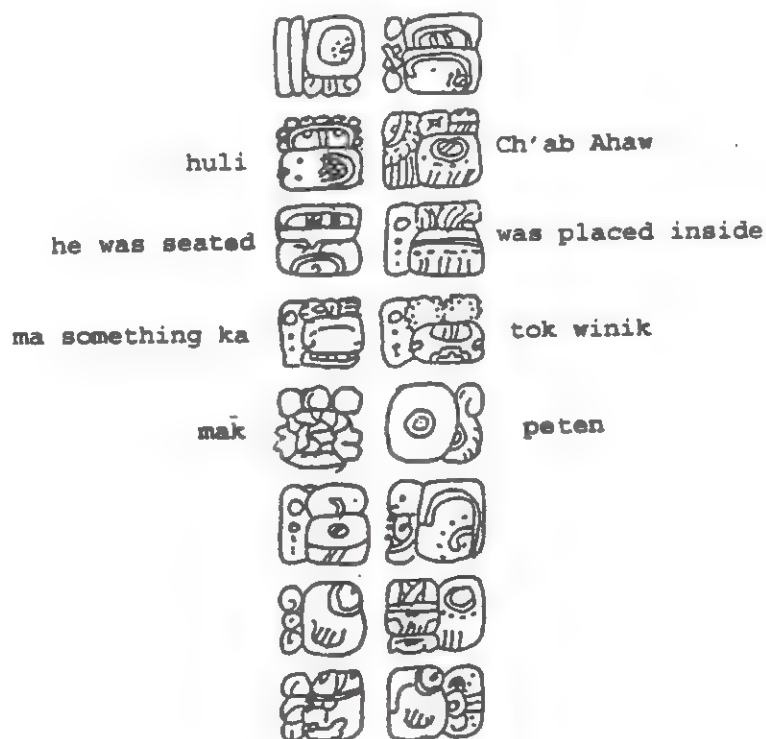


Fig.230

This event is also recorded on a Cancuen Panel (Fig.231) which is a little bit earlier on 9.11.4.9.2 (Mar.21, 657), but we have another huli event (A2) which was taking place for this event, so we have the "arrival" at makan (B2) witz "mountain" (A3). Then we have Ah Bolon K'in (B3) and this is a kind of toponym or title which is associated somehow with Calakmul because it becomes important later. Then we have

a passage that includes the name Ch'ab Ahaw (B5) which is the same name that we have in the other Cancuen panel that we just looked at. (Linda) The important thing to see here is that they are moving around perhaps within the polity to different places. This is in the middle of a series of problematic wars. (Nikolai) Here we have the Cancuen emblem glyph (A6).

Cancuen Panel

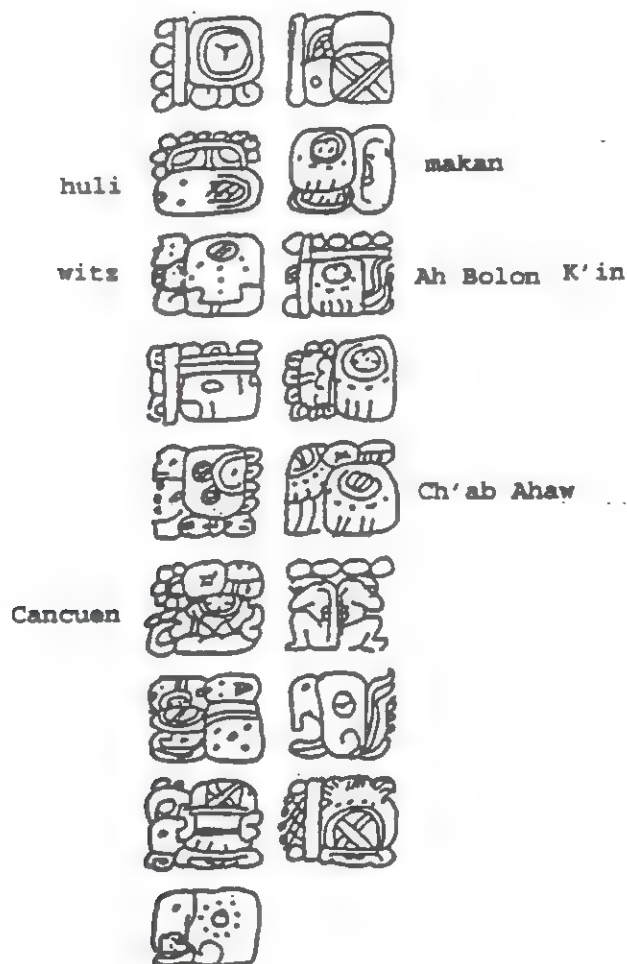


Fig.231

At Site Q, at the same time as recorded on Site Q Panel 2 (Fig.232) we have a statement that gives us a date after the former accession took place, then another accession took place. The date here is 9.11.5.7.9 (Feb. 11, 658) and then we have chumlah (A6) ti ahaw le (B6) or "he was seated into the reign." This time the king who acceds is Chak Nab Kan (A7). He is the same king who a few years before did the throne event.

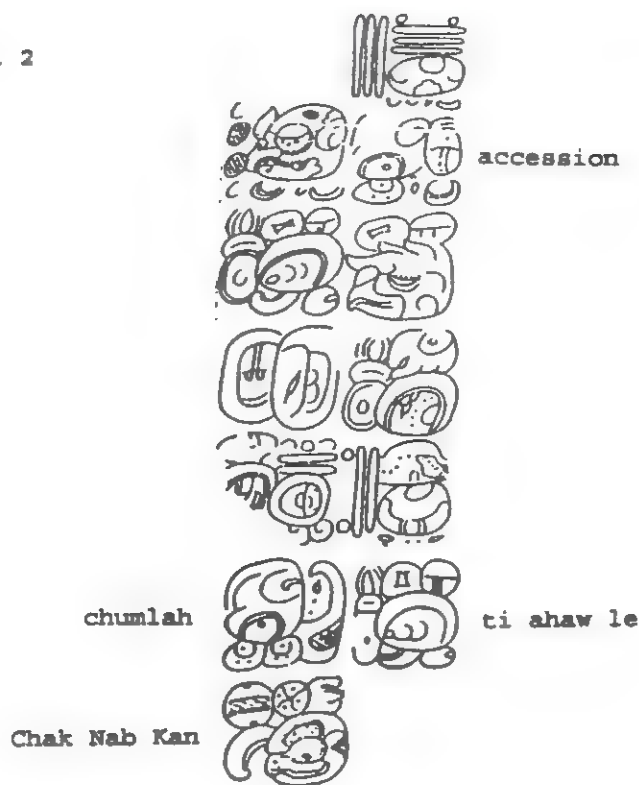


Fig.232

Okay we continue with the next event taking place at Caracol as recorded on the Caracol Structure B18 Stucco (Fig.233). At 9.11.5.14.0 (June 22, 658) we see the accession or chumwani (C) ti ahaw le (D) "into the kingship" of the new Caracol king (E), but at the same time Tum Ol K'inich was still alive. I think he died about 30 days later.

Caracol Structure B18 Stucco

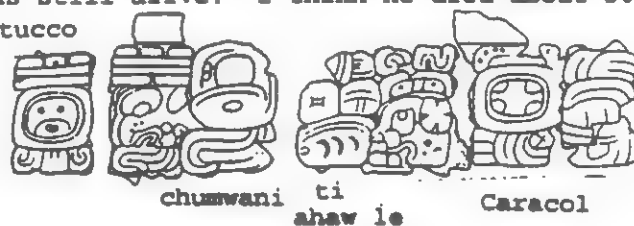


Fig.233

His death is written on the same Stucco text (Fig.234) with the date 9.11.5.15.9 (July 21, 658). Here we have the death head or Cimi "he died" (C) Tum Ol K'inich (D) K'ul Kan Tumak "the divine lord of Caracol" (E). Note that here, the kuy owl was used to spell the consonant of K'ul Kan Tumak. This is very unusual that we have an inauguration of a new king while the former king is still in office.

Caracol Structure B18 Stucco

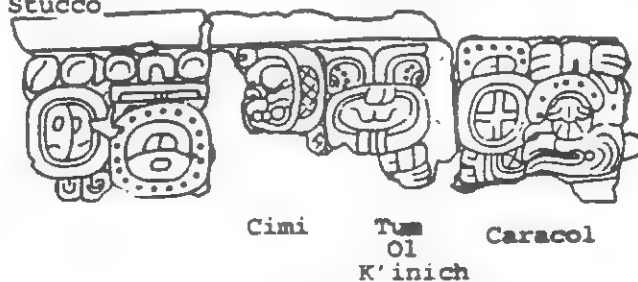


Fig.234

(Linda) We are now going to go back to Palenque. This is a text from the Hieroglyphic Stairway (9.11.6.16.11 or Aug. 7, 659) that has been driving us crazy for years (Fig. 235). The event, that in the text is immediately before this was that defeat by Calakmul back before Pakal's birth. The next thing that follows the "they threw down the gods" is this verb (C1) and these two signs together (D1). For a long time people noticed that these numbers on this number tree, which is probably read an, are 6.11.12 which is the eclipse formula used at Palenque. This long ago was suggested that it may have something to do with an eclipse. For a long time, it was nice to get those ideas, but difficult to prove it until a computer program called EZ Cosmos came along. Now we can find out really quickly. At a mini-conference, 3 or 4 years ago, Floyd, Peter, Dave Kelley, and I were looking at this and we discovered that this in fact does correspond to a lunar eclipse. This is the picture of exactly that lunar eclipse. The moon is right here and you can see that it is not a full umbral eclipse (it's about 60%) at Palenque. We now think with this darkened head and the number tree that this is some expression for that eclipsing or some event that is marked or associated with an eclipse. The next thing that we have here is Nu Balam (C2) followed by lakam "big" and this is Chak (D2). Nu Balam Lakam Chak is the name of that huge jaguar with the stuff coming out of its nose that is on the palanquin on Lintel 3 of Temple 1 at Tikal. Here he is called the "companion of" (A3) Shield Jaguar (B3) of Yaxchilan (A4). Now Shield Jaguar is not the king yet, but we think that this might be one of those captures of a palanquin or an attack against some object. The next part is really neat. This is chukah here (B4) and the next thing we have is u bah "the captive of" (C3) Nu Bak (D3) Chak (C4) which is the name of the king at Tikal. I will show you when we get to the Temple of the Inscriptions the emblem glyph that this guy has is a bird head with k'ul ahaw around it. The word for "bird" in Chol is mut and I think that it may be an alternative way of spelling the Tikal emblem glyph.

Palenque Hieroglyphic Stairway

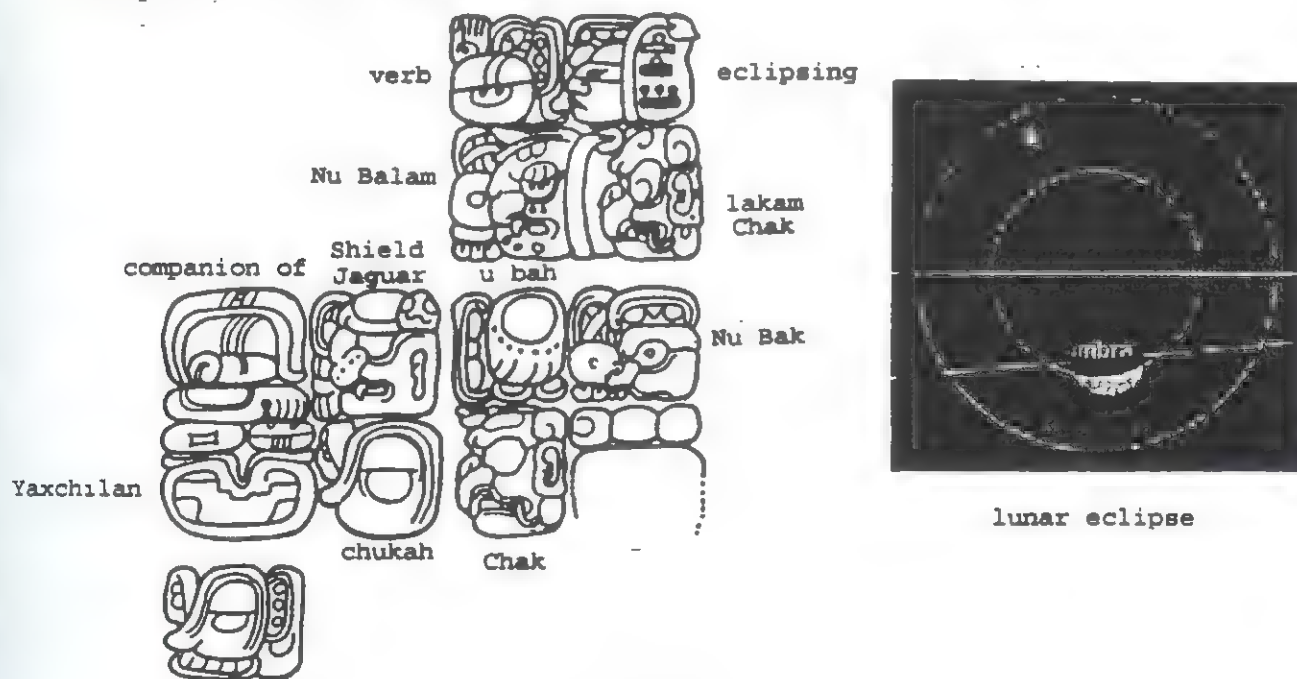
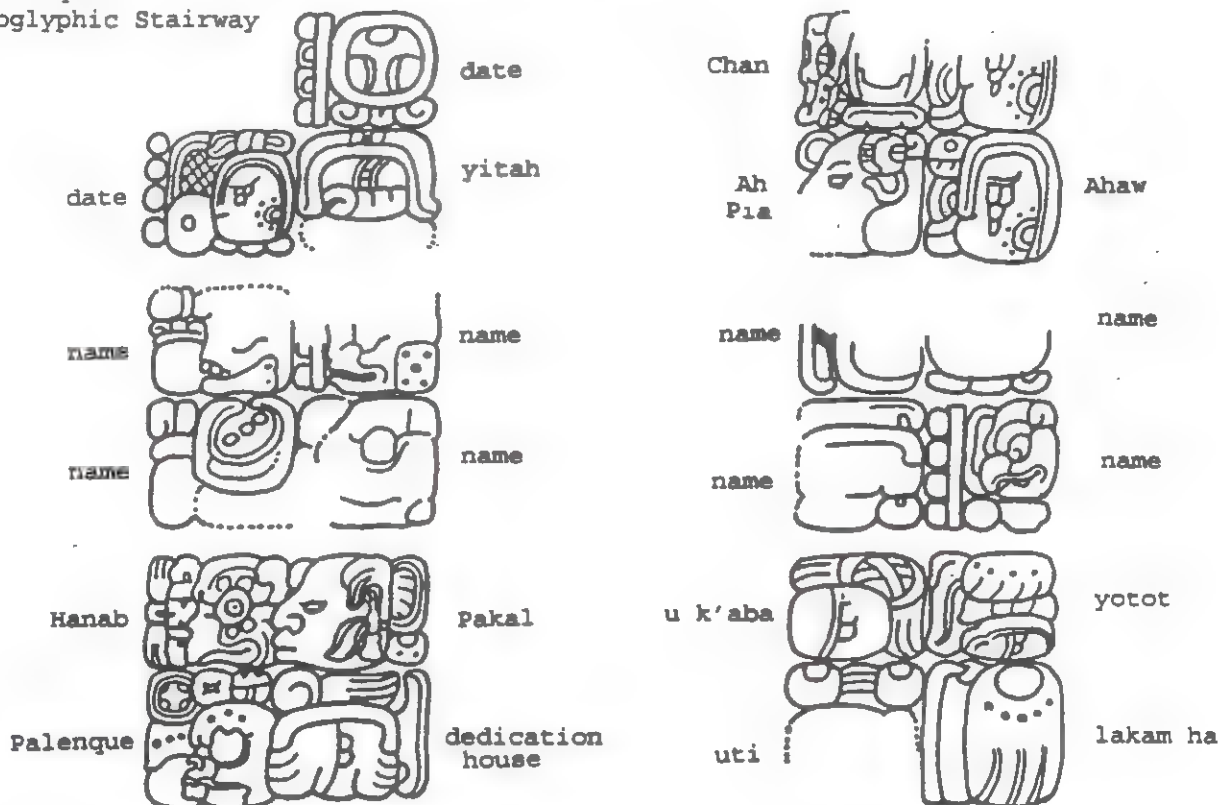


Fig. 235

Six days later on 9.11.6.16.17 are these events (Fig. 236). The reason for these events appears to be the dedication of a house (B6). This is the dedication phrase that appears on the Tikal lintels. This is a Te Na (B6) and this is u k'aba (C5) "was its name." Here is the yotot (D5) and I suspect that this is uti (C6). This is lakam ha (D6), so it happened to the capital. When we go back up to the top of the text we find here that this is Hanab Pakal (A5) the king. Then when we

go up here we have the date (B1 A2). The verb has to be yitah, perhaps "companioning" (B2) and there are a series of four names here (A3-D4). Rex Koontz figured out that these names are also on the Lower Panels of House C. These panels go with the names of bound captives that are kneeling along the substructure of this building. The critical thing here is that this guy's name is repeated on these Lower Panels of House C. The first one reads Chan (A1). This is Ah (A2) and he is a Pia (A2) Ahaw (B2) or a lord from Pomona. These are the guys that attacked Palenque earlier in Pakal's life and now he is getting vengeance on them as well as picking up captives from all over the area. He then sacrifices them in the dedication of this building.

Palenque
Hieroglyphic Stairway



Palenque Lower Panels of
House C

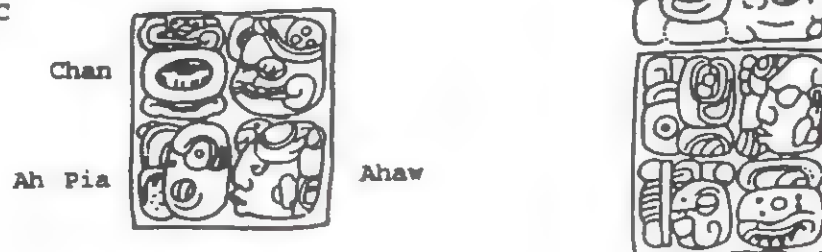


Fig.236

He then goes over in a later history and records more about this on the Temple of the Inscriptions (Fig.237). This sets the date at 9.11.6.16.17. The text begins with a distance number of 17 k'ins (B1) 16 winals (A2), and 6 tuns after 10 Ahaw (B2) the "seating of the tun" iwal "and the" huli "he arrived" (A3) Nu Bak (B3) Chak (A4) and this is the bird indicating Tikal. (Nikolai) All that this says is that he is arriving. I think that there is a good chance that he was exiled to Palenque. (Linda) This date then is really important. (Werner) Let me make one small remark on the astronomy. The original battle was within a week of that eclipse.

Palenque
Temple of the Inscriptions

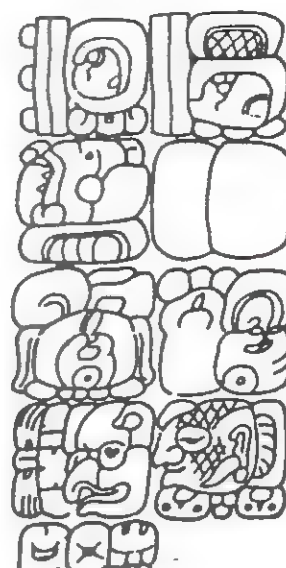


Fig.237

(Nikolai) Back at Site Q (Fig.238) on 9.11.7.6.8 (Jan.11, 660) we have another birth recorded here (A2). It was the birth of Chak Ak' (B2) and he is uy or yu (A3) itz'i (B3) winik (A4), so he is the "younger brother person" and a "child" or ch'ok (B4). He is the "child of" (A5) this lady (B5-B6) who carries all of these titles here (A7-B8) and he is "the child of" (A9) Chak Nab (B9) Chan (A10), who is the king who was seated on the Site Q monument that we saw a short while ago.

Site Q

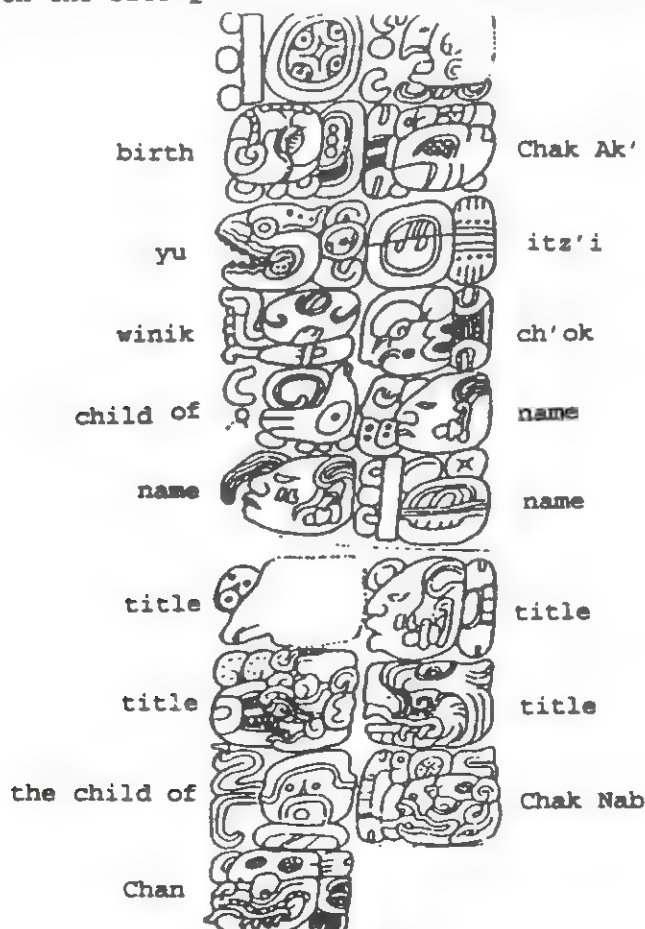
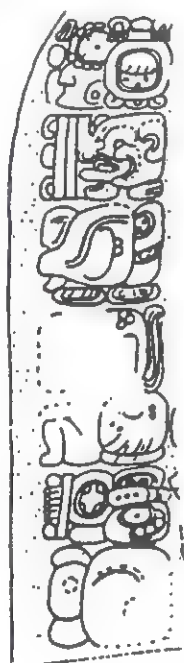


Fig.238

(Linda) Now Tatiana Proskouriakoff put most of these captures a whole Calendar Round later in her original analysis of Piedras Negras. Peter in his dissertation argued all sorts of grounds, including age and other sequenced events, that they are better put at a Calendar Round earlier. We are going with Peter's dates on this which I think make the history in this work out better, but you should know that it is possible to put these a full Calendar Round later. What we have here is the date 9.11.9.4.14 (Nov. 27, 661) which is 5 Ix 17 K'ank'in (B1) (Yaxchilan Lintel 46 Fig. 239). We have a verb in both cases (Lintel 46 and Stela 20) that say "he was captured" and the guy who was captured was named Ah K'an Uh Si or Siuh which would be one of the ways for saying "child of or the gift of." Then this is Buk Tun Ahaw and so this is probably the location of where this captive came from. Then what we have here is u ba (A4) Itzam Balam (B4) and he is u chan "the guardian of" (A5) Ah Nik (B5). He is the Yaxchilan ahaw (A6). Then we have u ts'akah "the replacement of" (B6) the u tok' pakal (A7) of Knot Eye Jaguar (B7). Remember who Knot Eye Jaguar is? He is the guy that got captured by the king of Piedras Negras, so it seems that through this capturing he is replacing the banner that may have been lost in the middle of that battle or that he uses himself as the replacement.

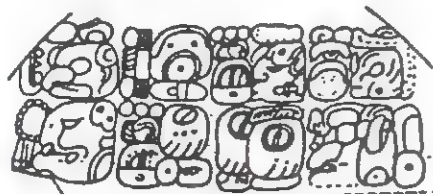
Yaxchilan Stela 20



captured

Ah K'an Uh Si

u chan Ah Nik



Itzam Balam

Yaxchilan Lintel 46

5 Ix



captured

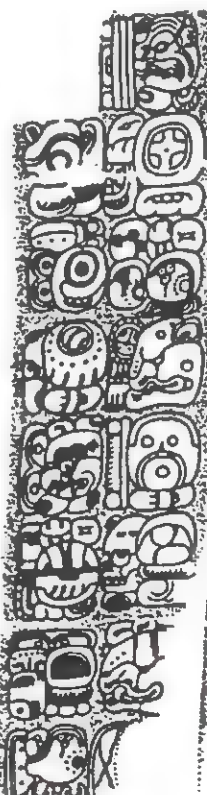
Uh Si

u ba

u chan

Yaxchilan
ahaw

u tok' pakal



17 K'ank'in

Ah K'an

Buk Tun Ahaw

Itzam Balam

Ah Nik

u ts'akah

Knot
Eye Jaguar

Fig. 239

At Palenque we have two further events (Fig. 240). These are the huge figures that are on either side of the stairs on House A. There are two Calendar Rounds that are a day apart here. I did not draw them here but they date to 9.11.9.10.12 (left) and 9.11.9.10.13 (right) or March

25-26, 662). The event here is nawah "he was dressed, painted or decorated as" the yahal "the conquered one of" (A) the holy lord of Palenque (B). The second panel reads nawah yahal "the conquered one of" (A) the Chak Te (B). That means that at the same time, Pakal is also attacking outward, bringing captives home and displaying them.

Palenque
stairs on
House A

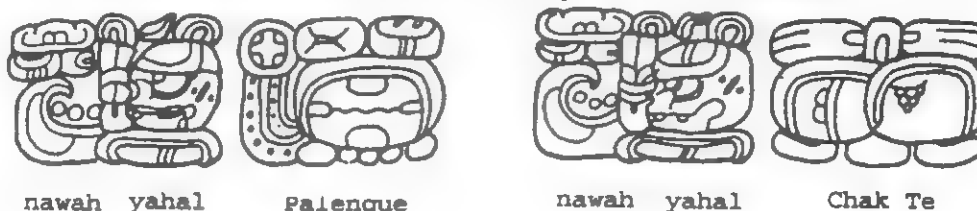


Fig.240

(Nikolai) The next event is from Morales Stela 4 (Fig.241) which dates 9.11.9.11.3 (Apr.5, 662). The drawing is very bad, but we can see an accession event (B1). This is the name of a person (A2 B2) and I think this is the same person whose birth was recorded on the same monument a couple of years before. Either this glyph (B2) or this glyph (A3) is u kahi "it was done by" and then we have the name or variant of the yukum title here (B3). This is clear however (A4) and it is the Calakmul emblem glyph. I take this to be another accession of a king "under the auspices of" Calakmul at Morales.

Morales Stela 4

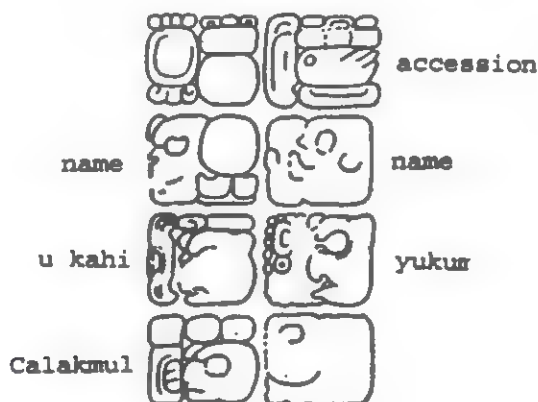


Fig.241

At Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, East, Step 3 (Fig.242) a few weeks later on 9.11.9.15.19 (July 10, 662) we have another war action recorded. It is recorded here with a unique war verb which does not occur anywhere else. While looking through Bob Laughlin's Tzotzil dictionary we found that the verb spelled u nak wa (C1) and it is a verb for "to make war." U nak wa is "he makes war against" ta ba kimi (D) which is the name of a person. He is a person from ko ba na or Koban and he is an ahaw, so he is a Koban Ahaw (C2). Terry Kauffman mentions here that there are other relative data here. The Tzeltal word for "enemy" is nak om ma so you might be looking for an "O" in there. (Nikolai) This then would be a very nice confirmation for "he who makes war against his enemies." This Koban Ahaw may also refer to the present day Koban in the Verapaz. We can not prove it. Since this is a transitive verb we do not need the u kahi glyph in order introduce the agent of the sentence. This is the object and the topic of the sentence is Balam Kan K'awil (D2) the king of Dos Pilas (E1) or Ruler 1. He calls himself the yitah "the companion of" yax something kal Balam Ahaw (E2) which is still an unidentified person from an unidentified site. Uti is "this happened at" this place name which may correspond to a place name that occurs on lintel from Lakanha (F2).

Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, East, Step 3

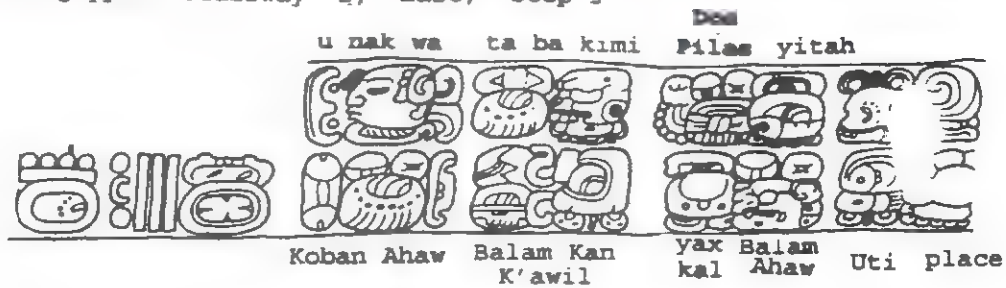


Fig.242

Then we have the Period Ending date of 9.11.10.0.0 (Aug.20, 662) and recorded on a Site Q panel (Fig.243) we have the name of king as being Chak Nab (B2) Kan (C1) and he carries the Sak Wayas title. This glyph is made up of the sak sign with a si suffix and a jaguar head which has a small ahaw infix or a small percentage sign sometimes. It is used as a name for secondary persons acting in the Calakmul polity.

Site Q panel

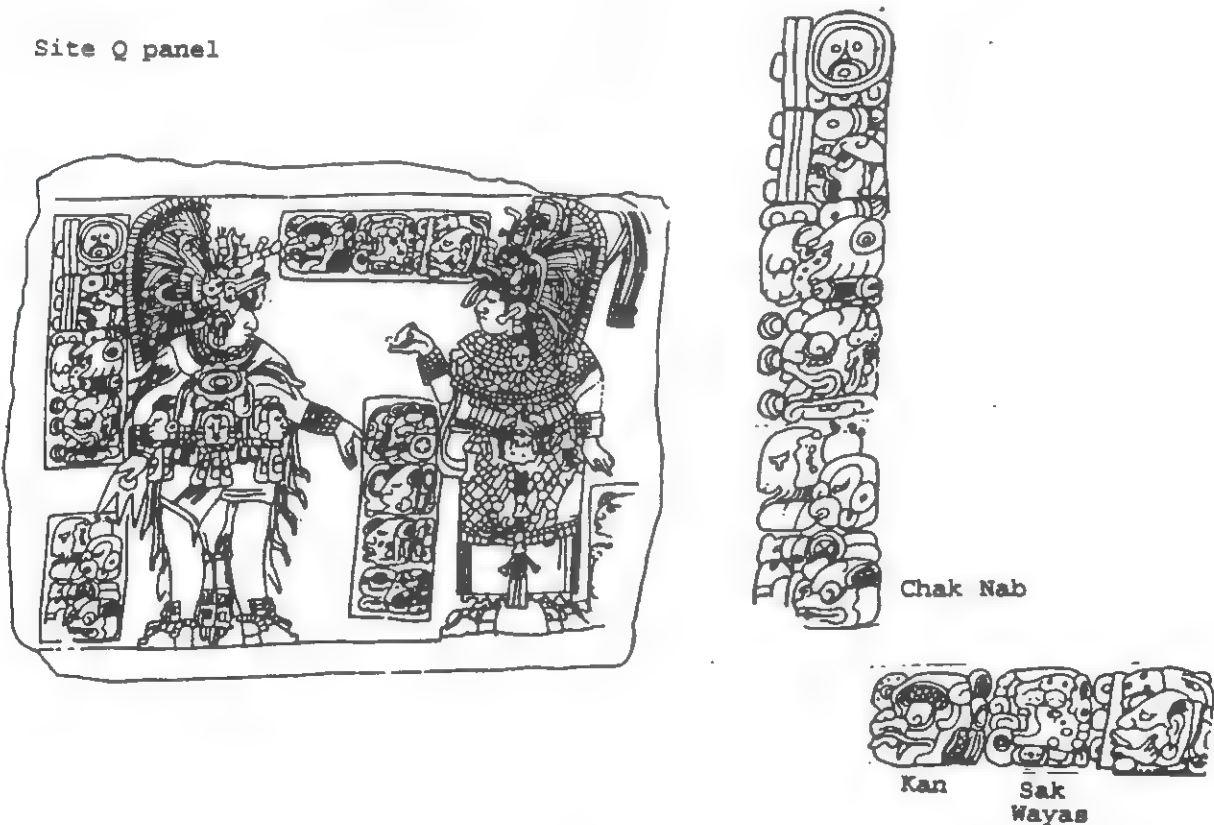


Fig.243

This is another text from Site Q called Glyphic Panel 7 (Fig.244) that records the dedication ochi butz' (A2) "the entering of smoke" to yotot "into the house of" K'ak Way Na (B2) which is the name of the king. It may also be K'ak Balamnah, but with the ahaw infix it is very likely to be read as a way sign. This was "observed" yilah (A3) by Yukum Kan Ahaw or the Calakmul king (B3). This is from a secondary site and the king of Calakmul came to witness the dedication of the palace or residential complex or temple built by the noble king.

Site Q
 Glyphic Panel 7

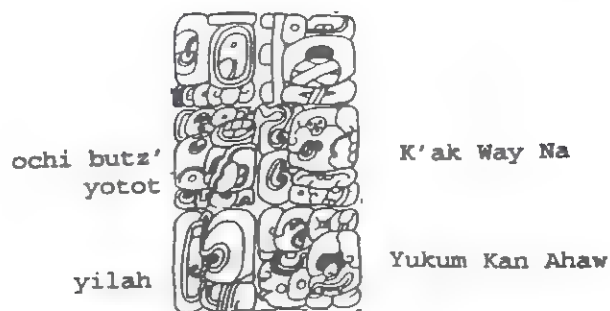


Fig.244

(Linda) This text is on the western side of House C at Palenque that recorded the arrival of the Tikal king and his battles (Fig.245). The date is 9.11.10.16.17 (July 13, 663). Here we have och bih "he entered the road" (A2) and here is his name followed by a glyph that says he was a Pia Ahaw (A3). I think that this is the death of that last survivor of that battle.

Palenque House C



Fig.245

(Nikolai) At Site Q on Panel 2 we have another text that links two events (Fig.246). It dates to 9.11.11.7.12 (Jan.14, 664). In this case we have a distance number between the two events (A2 B2). The earlier event is the accession (A3) of Chak Nab Kan and this distance number leads to a new event which is being used by the iwal sign "and then" ak ot "he danced" (B3) ti chab "as the chab" (A4). Chab means "to govern or to guard." Maybe this is a kind of instrument that represents this royal function. Then while the dance is taking place we have the xan verb (B5) which means "to travel or to walk" and the person travels to Nab Tunich (A6). The next glyph we can't read (B6), but the person who does this is yo he le or Yohel (A7) and he is one of the sons of Chak Nab Kan.

Site Q Panel 2

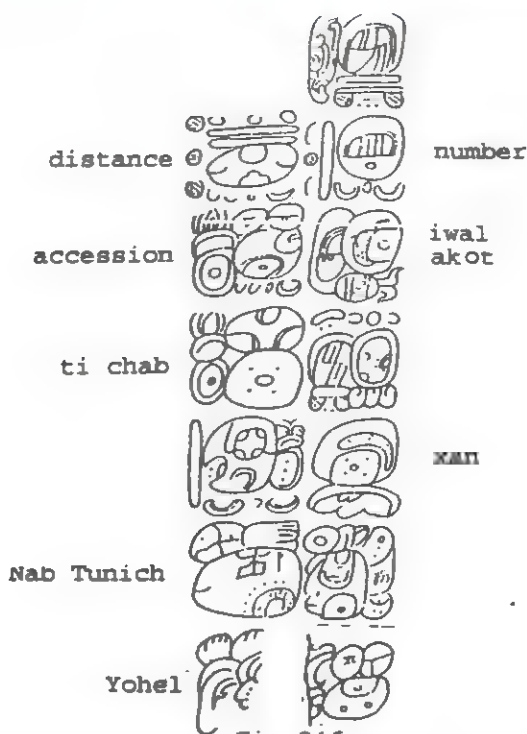


Fig.246

At Dos Pilas on Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, East, Step 4 (Fig.247) we have another war event that dates to 9.11.11.9.17 (Feb.20, 664). In this case we have the "capture" (B1) of Tah Mo (A2) Ah Kuch and unfortunately we can not read the main sign here, but the emblem glyph of Machaquila looks very similar. If this is the Machaquila emblem glyph here this could be evidence that Machaquila at that time was attacked and a captive from Machaquila was taken who carried the name Tah Mo. Following that we have u bak na (B2) which might be a verbal suffix. He was captured bah "by" (C1) Balah Kan K'awil (D1) which is Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas (C2).

Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, East, Step 4



Fig.247

Dos Pilas is expanding. At about the same time at Site Q as recorded on Panel 2 and on the New Site Q Panel (Fig.248) an important death event is recorded on the date 9.11.14.9.1 (Jan.27, 667). Lady Wak Kan Ahaw is the wife of king Chak Nab Kan. Her death is recorded on three different panels. One reads och bih "the entering of the road." One reads ch'ay u sak nik nal "it disappeared, her soul." The last panel has a verb which is not clear, but here we have her name and it's clear that it was a death reference.

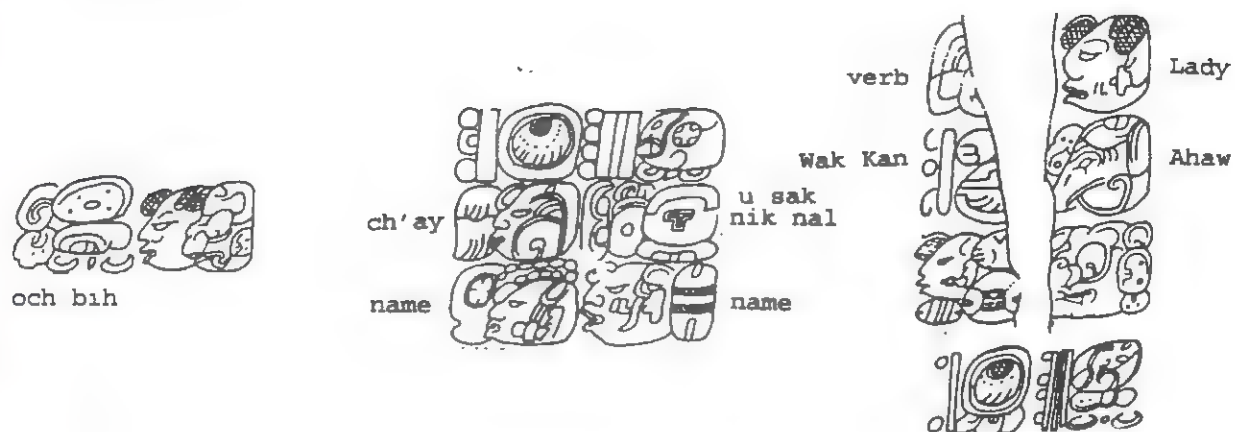


Fig.248

Chak Nab Kan in deep sorrow, indeed dies a few years later (Fig.249). Here from a Site Q panel we have the date 9.11.15.1.5 (Aug.19, 667). Here we have the distance number of 18 k'ins, 10 winals, (B1), and 9 tuns (A2) after he was inaugurated (B2) into the kingship ti ahaw le (A3) Chak Nab Kan (B3) iwal och bih "and then he entered the road" (A4).

Site Q panel



Fig.249

Six days after he died (New Site Q Panel 9.11.15.1.11 or Aug.25, 667, Fig.250), which is at the same time 3 tuns (B2), 11 winals, and 19 k'ins (A2) after the xani (A3) "after he traveled" to the capital for 3 years. Next we have iwal "and then" huli "he arrived" (B4). (Linda) His father died, so he had to come back from the capital to take the throne.

New Site Q Panel

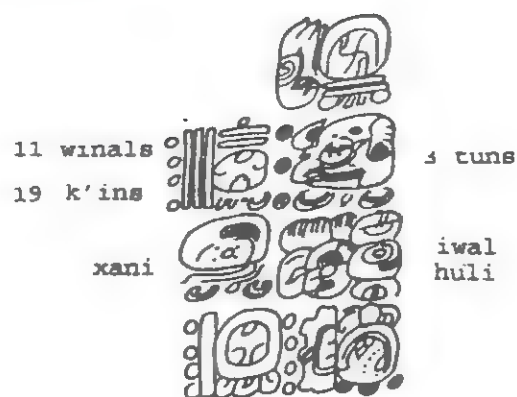


Fig. 250

That is important. The fact that they say the son went to the capital and three years later, immediately after the death of the father, he comes back to the home place. (Nikolai) So -6 days after his father's death he arrives back home.

Then in September of the same year which is about 40 days after his father's death as recorded on this Site Q Panel (Fig. 251) or on 9.11.15 2.16 (Sept. 19, 667) he accedes chumlah (B2) ti ahaw le (A3) u nichil (B3) sak wayas (A4) "he was set into kingship, the son of Sak Wayas." Sak Wayas was a title carried by the father, so instead of mentioning his name he simply calls himself the son of his father.

Site Q Panel

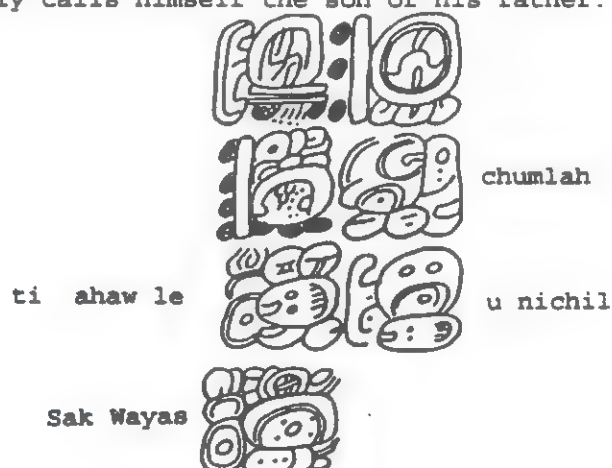


Fig. 251

On 9.11.16.2.3 (Sept. 10, 668) about 1 year later as recorded on the New Site Q Panel (Fig. 252) the distance number connects his father's death here or the ch'ay (B2) u sak nikil (A3) of Chak Nab Kan (B3) and then he "constructed something." Pat means "to form or to construct."

New Site Q Panel

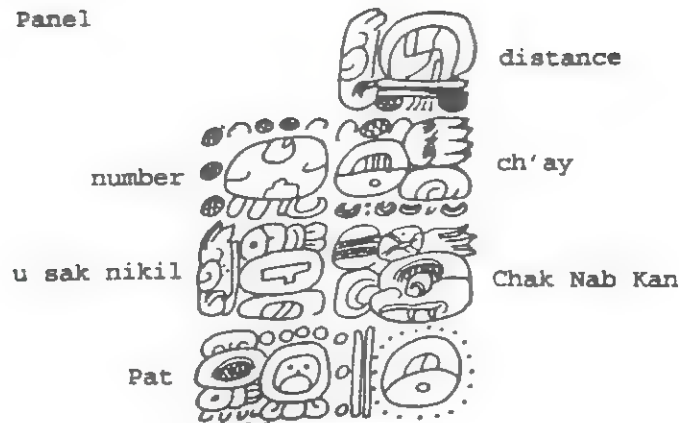


Fig. 252

What he constructs is mentioned on the New Site Q Panel and on Site Q Glyphic Panel B (Fig. 253) which dates to 9.11.16.2.8 (Sept. 15, 668). Here we have the focus marking verb (A1) followed by iwal "and then" (B1) he dedicated an incense burner (B1) with a le suffix. I think that Steve has made the suggestion that the reading for this is elel meaning "to burn." Incense was burned then in order to dedicate the house, but it wasn't a simple house (A2). It was u muk nal or "his tomb" (B2). The same event is recorded on the next panel too.

New Site Q Panel

Site Q Glyphic Panel B

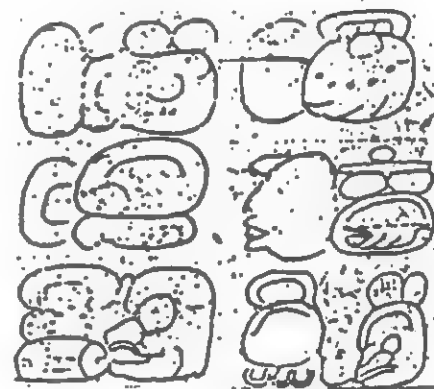
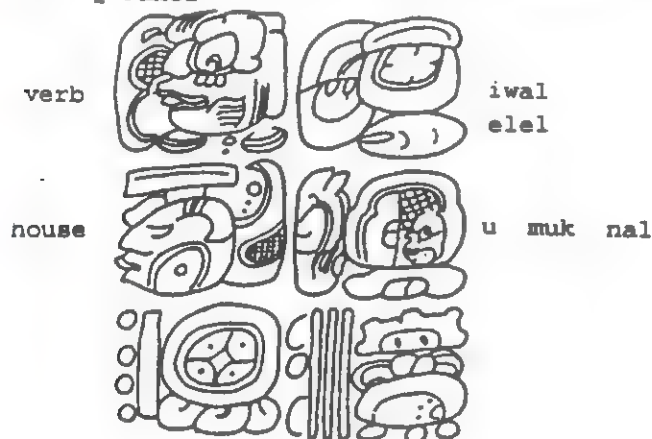
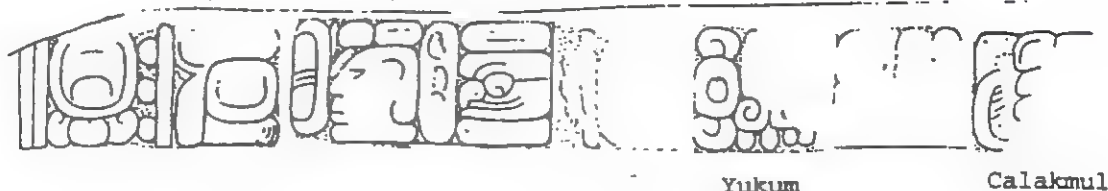


Fig. 253

LATE CLASSIC WARFARE (9.12.0.0.0 - 9.12.19.12.9)

The date 9.12.0.0.0 (June 28, 672) which is a k'atun ending is recorded at Calakmul on Stela 9 (Fig. 254). It is recorded at many places, but this is very important because at this time this is one of the few instances where we have the Calakmul emblem glyph written on a stela preserved at Calakmul (H). This may be a Yukum title here reserved for the kings of Calakmul (F).



Yukum

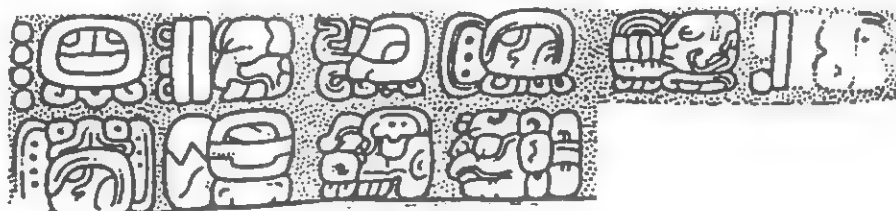
Calakmul

Fig.254

This is something that is very exciting. At Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 4, Step 3 and Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, West, Step 1 (Fig.255) with the date 9.12.0.8.3 (Dec.8, 672) we have another Star War recorded. The verb is here (A2). The subject of this Star War is Balah Kan (B2) K'awil (C1), so this is a Star War against Dos Pilas. The agent this time is u kahi "it is done by" (D1) Shield Skull (C2 D2) of Tikal. Note that the emblem glyph of Tikal in this case is simply written as Mutul Nal (E1). He is from the Mutul place. Dos Pilas does not regard this king as a divine king of Mutul because only the kings of Dos Pilas were divine kings of this place. On Hieroglyphic Stairway 2 the same event is written with simply a Star War verb against a Dos Pilas toponym. Werner has figured out from Hieroglyphic Stairway 4 that this distance number (A2-C1) connects a later date with a previous date. The previous date is the same date as the Star War event here and this records the xani (B2) of Balah Kan (C2) K'awil (D1). So as a result of this Star War against Dos Pilas by Tikal, Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas was told to leave Dos Pilas. This is a very detailed description of what happens in Maya wars.

Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 4, Step 3

K'awil u kahi Mutul Nal



Star War Balah Kan Shield Skull

Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, West, Step 1



Star War Dos Pilas toponym

Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 4



K'awil

xani Balah Kan

Fig.255

This next part also comes from Werner. This is Dos Pilas Stela 8 (Fig.256) that records the Initial Series date and it records the birth of the next king, Ruler 2. The Long Count Date is 9 (A2). 12 (B2). 6 (A3). 15 (B3). 11 (A4) and does not fit together with the Calendar Round date of 13 Chuwen (B4) 19 K'ayab (A7) which is 9.12.0.10.11 (Jan.25, 673). The reason for this mistake may be that the real birth date would have fallen into the time when Dos Pilas was occupied by Tikal troops. Ruler 2 of Dos Pilas didn't want everyone to know that he was born in a time when Dos Pilas was in very bad shape, so he fakes the Long Count date.

Dos Pilas Stela 8

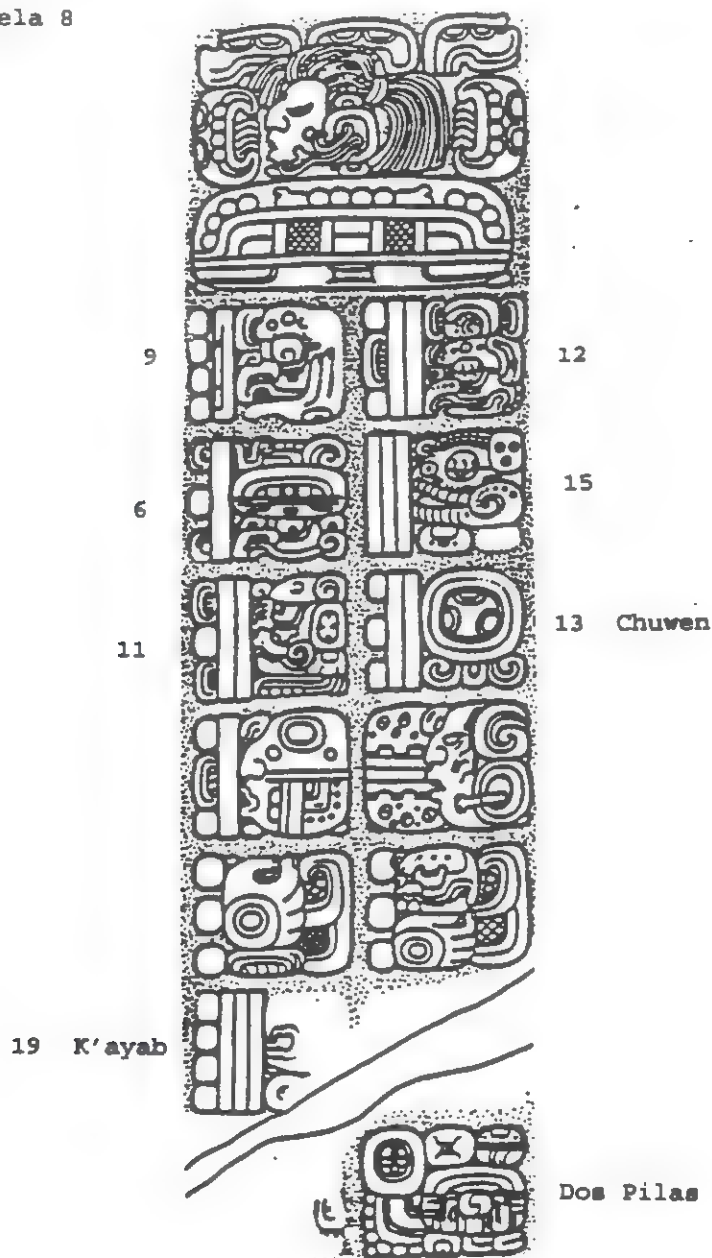


Fig.256

This is another event that happens in the Passion region in Cancuen. This is from the Cancuen Panel (Fig.257) and it dates 9.12.4.11.1 (Jan. 14, 677). It records the accession or chumwani (A2) ti ahaw le "into the kingship" (B2) of this king (A3-A4) u kahi "by the doing of" (B4) u kun "the seat of" (A4) Calakmul (B5).

Cancuen Panel

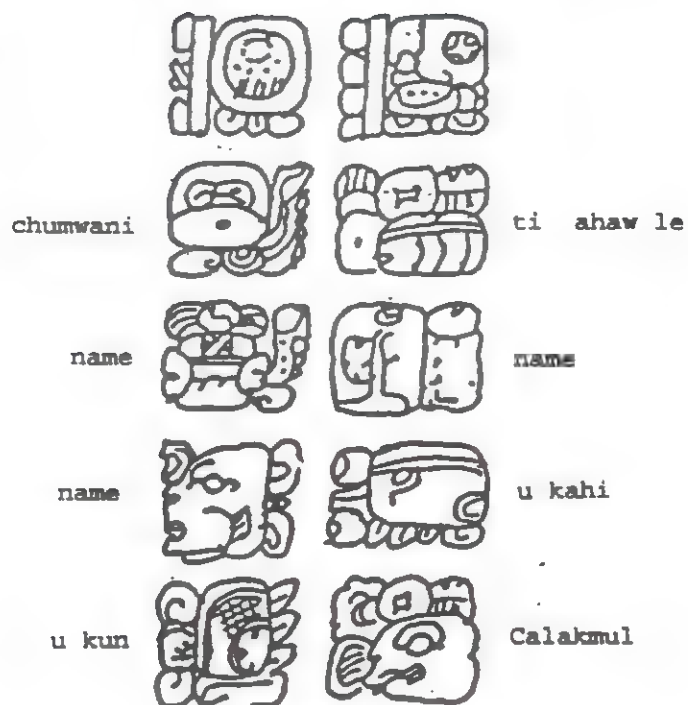


Fig.257

It is interesting to see how these small events interact on how Tikal tries to expand its influence. At the same time Calakmul installs new kings and it tries to be present and to expand its sphere of influence.

(Linda) Now this is almost the same time. We are looking at Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic Stairway 2 (Fig.258) which dates to 9.12.5.2.11 (July 23, 677). We have the date 2 Chuwen (B1) 14 Mol "he was captured" (A2) and here is the name of the person captured in here (B2-A3). His name was Pol Chay (B2) Ah Pay Mo' (A3). Remember, Ah Pay is the name for "helmsman." He is a lord of Bonampak (B3). Then we have yet "the owner" (A4) tu tok' tu pakal (B4) and so he was known as the owner of the tok' and of the pakal. The text continues with some titles (A5 B5) and I do not have it pictured here, but the text clearly names Shield Jaguar. So Shield Jaguar at this time is attacking Bonampak.

Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic Stairway 2

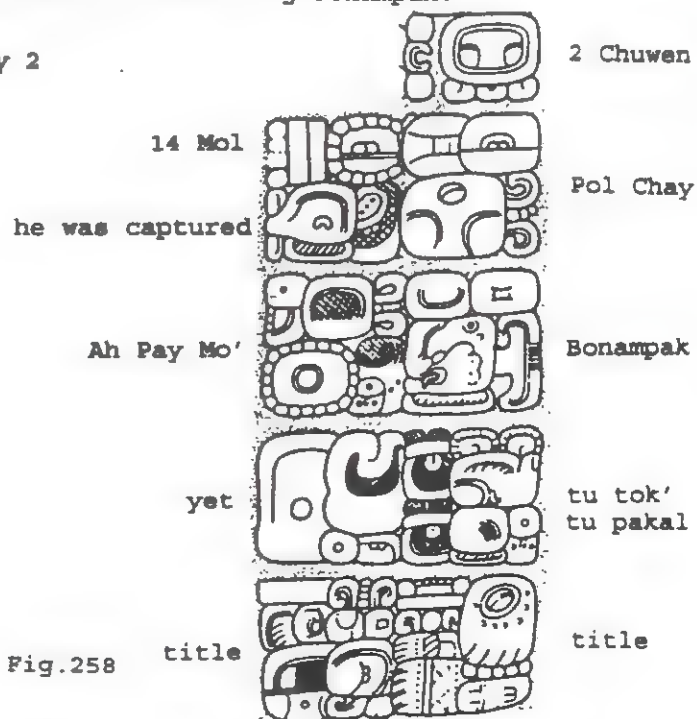


Fig.258

(Nikolai) Now we go back to Dos Pilas and Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, West, Step 1 (Fig.259). We have the date 9.12.5.9.14 (Dec.13, 677). This is a Star War event against the site called Puluy (B) and as a consequence we have another verb here lok'i "he came out, he emerged, or he was forced out" Shield Skull (C) of Tikal. Then we have another verb which we don't understand yet and a pat tun (D) which may be a toponym. To me this suggests that Puluy was a place within the Dos Pilas polity where at this time Shield Skull of Tikal was located.

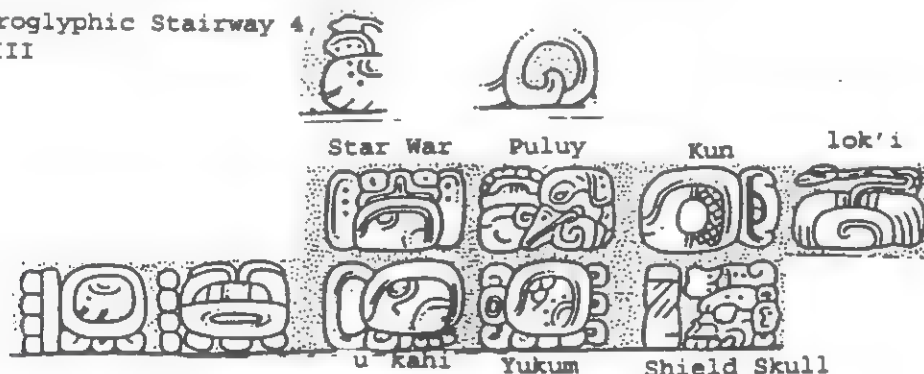
Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, West, Step 1



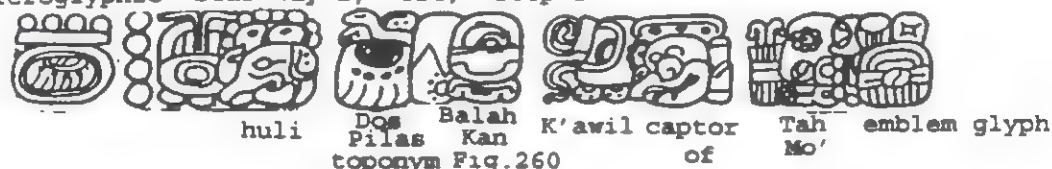
Star Puluy lok'i Shield yet pat tun
War Fig.259 Skull

A few days later we have an important Star War recorded again on both Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 4, Step III and on Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, West, Step I (Fig.260). The date is 9.12.5.10.1 (Dec.20, 677). Here is the Star War verb (C1) and the war was against Puluy (D1) u kahi "by the action of" (C2) Yukum (E1) or Calakmul and as a consequence lok'i "he is forced out" (F1) Shield Skull of Tikal (E2). This is also described here in this passage. Here is huli "he arrived" (B1) and here is the Dos Pilas toponym (first half of C1) Balah Kan (second half of C1) K'awil (D) the "captor of" Tah Mo' bearing of the Dos Pilas/Tikal emblem glyph. As a consequence of this event Shield Skull of Tikal was driven out again of Dos Pilas and the Dos Pilas king was able to return to Tikal which is indicated here by the huli verb. He was in exile for almost five years.

Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 4, Step III



Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, West, Step I



The peak event in all these Dos Pilas/Tikal conflicts takes place at 9.12.6.16.17 (Apr.30, 679). (Linda) Remember that date I told you to remember? It's the 9.11.6.16.17 date. Look at the two dates. They are exactly to the day 1 k'atun apart. (Nikolai) For the peak event (Fig.261), 1 k'atun after the arrival of Shield Skull at his allied site of Palenque, we have hubi "was downed" (C2) u tok' pakal "the flint shield of" (D1) Shield Skull (E1) of Tikal. Here we have the witzing (D2) of the u bak "of the bones" (E2) and the nabing "the painting" (F1) of something here at G1 that we can not read. Here we have Oxlahun Tzuk which is a Tikal title (F2 G2). Then we have Mutul Nal which is a Tikal place (H1 I1). This is all done by Balah Kan (J1 K1) K'awil (J2) of Mutul (K2) or Dos Pilas.

Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, West

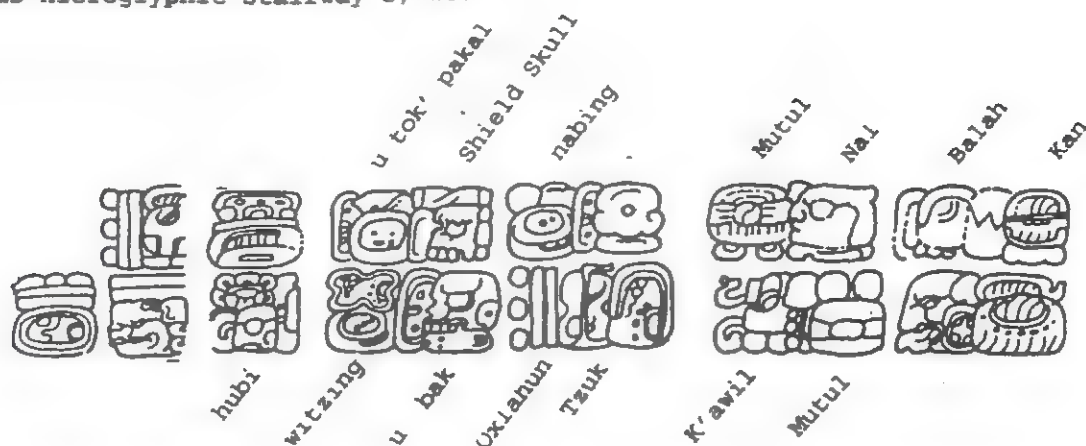


Fig.261

Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 4, Step V (Fig.262) records the same event. Here is hubi "was downed" (A1) u tok' "his flint" (B1) pakal "shield" (A2) and here is the name of Shield Skull written phonetically as Nun (B2) Bak (C1) Chak (D1). This may have been his real phonetic name. Next we have u kahi "by the doing of" (C2) Balah (D2) Kan (E1) K'awil (F1) or Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas followed by a long series of titles.

Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 4, Step V

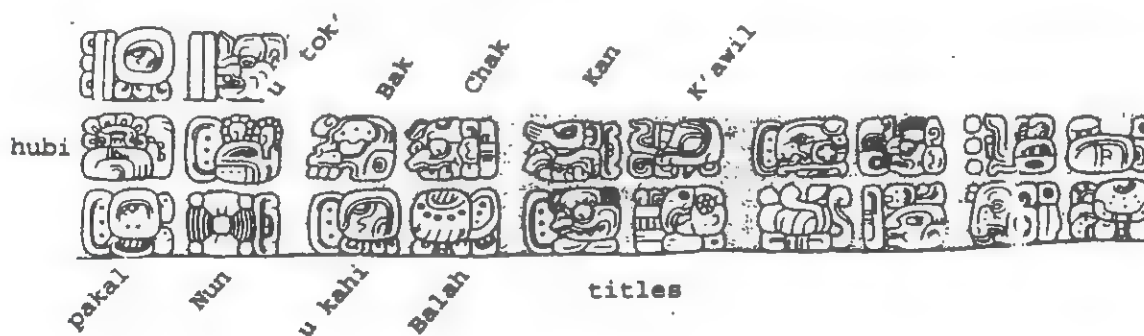


Fig.262

This is the peak event. This is the last time that the name of Shield Skull of Tikal who is the father of the famous Ruler A of Tikal is mentioned. He disappears. It may be that he was taken captive and that he was kept at Dos Pilas for display or he may have been tortured or killed, but we just do not know. When I put this data together for the workbook I also cut up what we call El Peru Altar 1 (Fig.263) which may not have come from El Peru, but rather from a different site and I found out that we have exactly the same date here (A2 B1) of 9.12.6.16. 17 (Apr.30, 679). The event described here (C1) is an "arrival" huli of a female and she is from Calakmul (D1). So at the same time as Dos Pilas is defeating Tikal, Calakmul takes out a royal bride to some place, maybe to El Peru in order to expand.

El Peru Altar 1

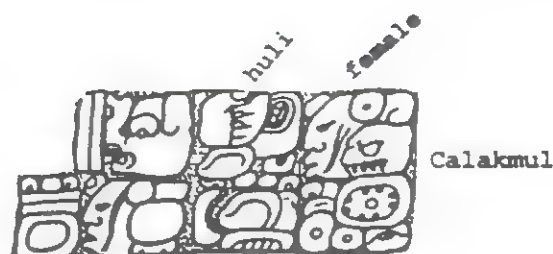


Fig. 263

These coordinated events, which take place at the same date and are politically related at Dos Pilas and El Peru, show me that the Maya were able to coordinate their actions and their behaviors. That would mean that they were much better organized and efficient in their administration than we thought they would be.

(Linda) We discovered another interesting thing on this inscription from a wooden box at Tortuguero (Fig. 264). Matt Looper deciphered this event which occurred on 9.12.6.17.18 (May 21, 679) that precedes the death of Balam Ahaw. This is only 20 days before Nu Bak Chak's tok' pakal gets "thrown down." We have on this box recorded here at A2 ma ilah which means "that he wasn't seen anymore" Balam Ahaw (A3). Now this may be sheer coincidence, absolutely unrelated, but it's weird that it could be possible that the Tikal king goes into exile at Palenque and one of the chief lords of the Palenque king dies 20 days after that Tikal lord is taken in battle. It may or may not be related, but here is the death of the lord that stabilized the west for Pakal.

Tortuguero wooden box

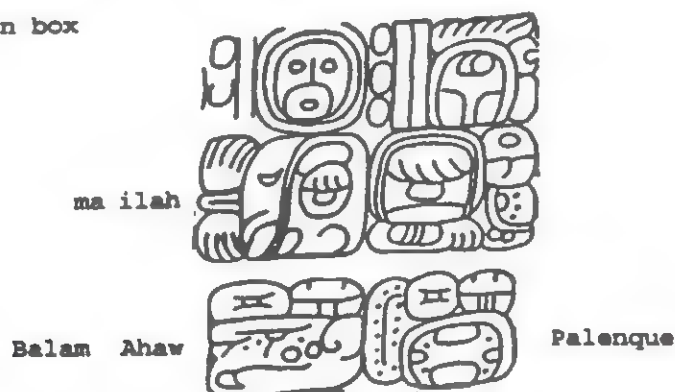


Fig. 264

(Nikolai) Here is another text from Site Q Glyphic Panel A (Fig. 265) that records the "death" kimi (B1) of this person (A2 B2) on 9.12.8.12.4 (Jan. 16, 681). He maybe a Wak Ahaw which could be a form of the El Peru emblem glyph or toponym (A3). His death occurs "by the doing of" u kahi (B3) Ah something (A4).

Site Q Glyphic Panel A

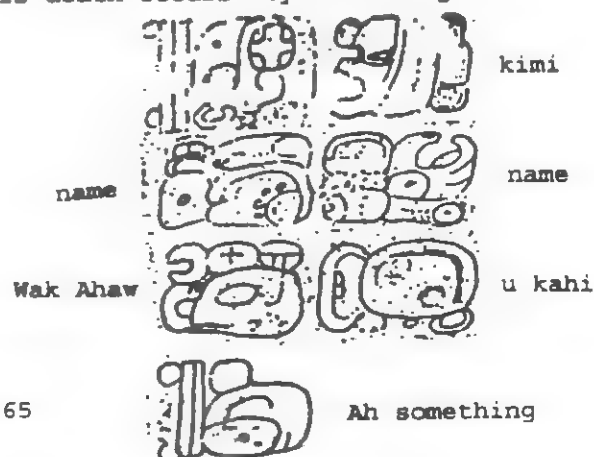


Fig. 265

On Site Q Glyphic Panel A (Fig.266) on 4 Ahaw (A1) 8 Kumk'u (B1) or 9.12.8.13.0 (Feb.1, 681) we have a dance event ak otah (B2) preceded by an u ka tal which is an ordinal number meaning "for the second time" (A2). The agent of this dance is not mentioned.

Site Q Glyphic Panel A

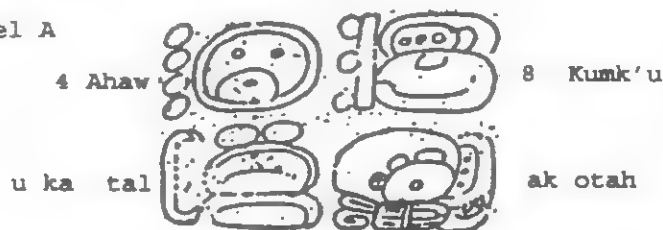
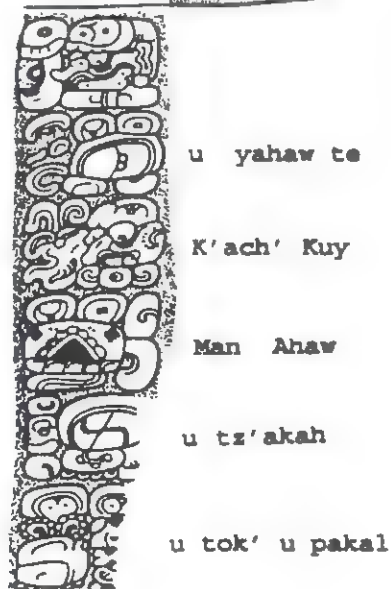
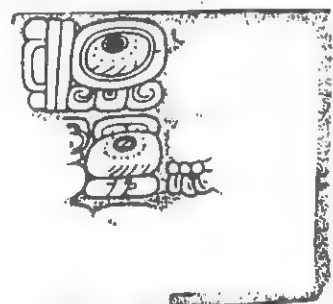


Fig.266

(Linda) Now we go back to Yaxchilan. The date is 9.12.8.14.1 (Feb.22, 681). This is the most important capture of Shield Jaguar's life. It is the capture that occurs very shortly before his accession and it may have had to do with his qualifications as a lord. It had a great deal to do with all of this interaction that we have been looking at. This text is from Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic Stairway 3 (Fig.267) and you can see the Long Count date. Here is the capture at C3 and his name was recorded with an ahaw sign and a ki sign under it that is read Ah Nik "He of Flowers" (D3). He is the u yahaw te (Yaxchilan Lintel 45) so he is a "subordinate lord of" (A4) this person whose name begins with K'ach' Kuy (A5). Remember that kuy is the name for "soldier or battle caption." This kuy is a Man Ahaw (A6) and then we have u tz'akah (A7) and u tok' u pakal (A8). Shield Jaguar is presenting himself as the replacement of an earlier "flint Shield" once again.

Yaxchilan Lintel 45



Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic Stairway 3

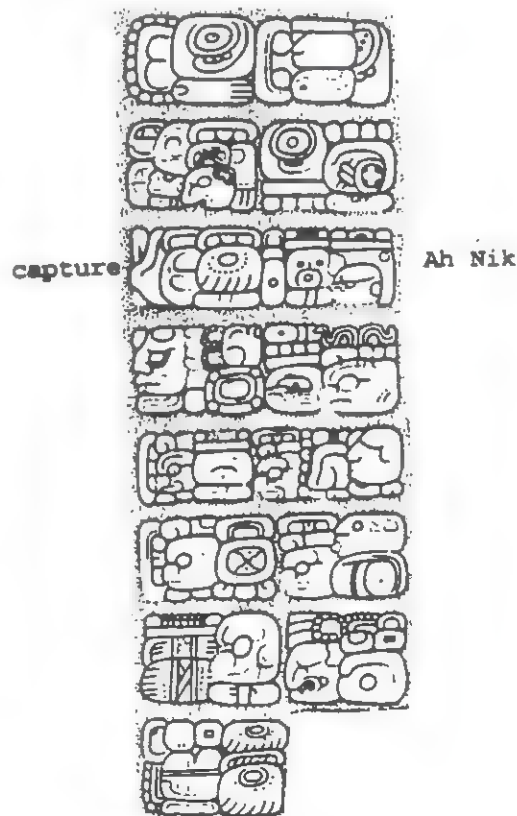
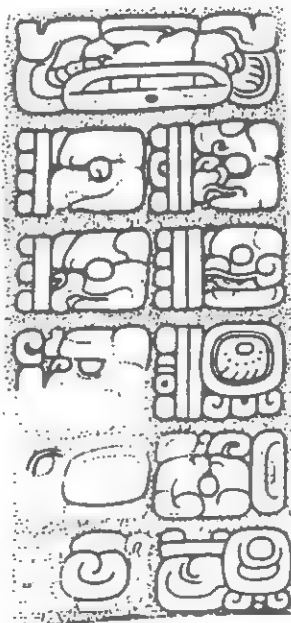
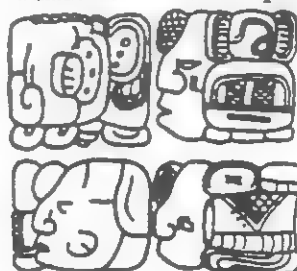


Fig.267

Now Man Ahaw is going to become really important. The importance of Man is that almost simultaneously there is a marriage going on at Piedras Negras where Ruler 2. is about to die and he contracted a marriage to the woman who will become the wife of his son who will become Ruler 3. This is the record of her birth on this lintel from the Piedras Negras region (Fig.268). She is Lady K'atun (B1) Ahaw (A2) Na man Ahaw (B2). She is a woman from this polity that is attacked by Yaxchilan.

lintel from
the Piedras Negras
region

birth



Lady K'atun

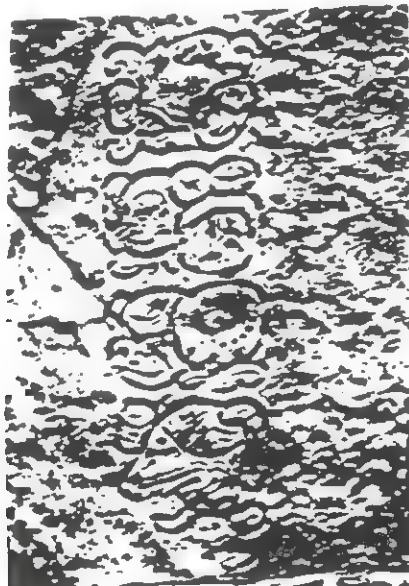
Ahaw

Na man Ahaw

Fig.268

We just discovered this last night, due to our friend Phil Wanyerka who showed us detailed photographs of the artists' names on the El Peru monument that is in the Cleveland Museum of Art (El Peru Stela 34, Fig. 269). You can see here that we have "he sculpted" (A1) followed by part of the name (A2) and the Man na (A3) Ahaw (A4). This means that it is possible that Man is some geographical area of El Peru which is an ally of Calakmul.

El Peru Stela 34



"he sculpted"

name

Man na

Ahaw

Fig.269

(Nikolai) Man is also mentioned in the Yaxchilan inscriptions and also is a producer of polychrome pottery (Fig.270). It may also be that Man is somewhere in Chiapas in the vicinity of Yaxchilan or Piedras Negras.

THE MAN - SITE

9.12.2.0.16 birth of Lady of MAN



PNB. ST. 1+3



YAX WAT. 45
9.12.8.14.1

capture scene:

AN NIK U YAHAW



YAX W. 5
9.12.8.14.19

no verb -



AN
NO

YAX ST. 21
- no date -

CHULTS CHAN - U CHAN TAN MO' - U CHAN JOLON ARAWLE -



YAX ST. 19
9.12.8.14.0

CHUHAN - AN NIK - ... AHAW -



Kellmuth 197: fig. 335:



Fig. 270

(Linda) Now what does all of this have to do with our big alliance system other than that Man might be a part of El Peru? This is a looted lintel that comes from the El Cayo area or one of the sub-sites of the Piedras Negras polity (Fig. 271). There is a date here (A1 B1) and then we have nawah "he was dressed or decorated" (A2) u nuk "the big" (B2) u kohal "headdress" (A3). Here is Ruler 2's name (B3 A4). Then we have u kahi "by the doing of" (B4) and a name here (A5) followed by k'u k'ul (B5) K'ak' (A6) Yabak (B6). "He of the prisoners" is owned by the Yukum (A7) Kun (B7) of Calakmul (A8). This tells us that this wearing of the helmet by the Piedras Negras king is prompted by this subordinate lord of the yukum of Calakmul. This suggests, very strongly, that Piedras Negras is a part of the Calakmul hegemony.

looted lintel
from the El Cayo area

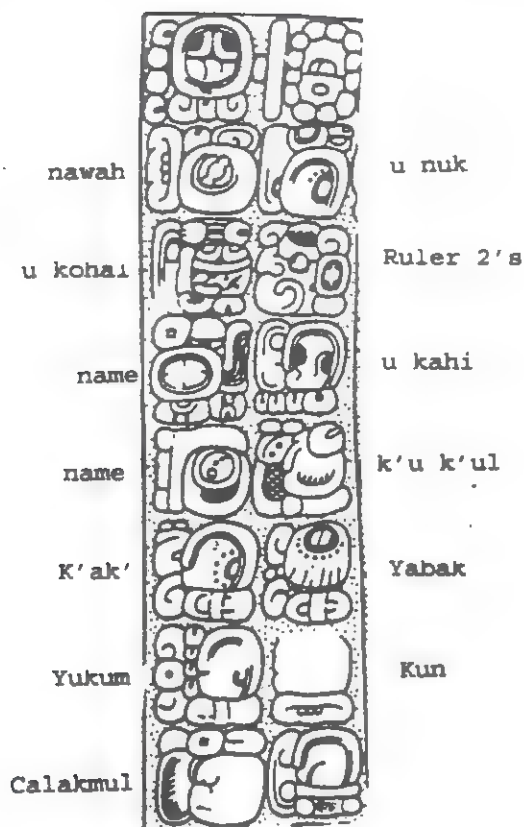


Fig.271

Note that Yaxchilan is attacking the site that provided the wife to the Piedras Negras king's son. (Nikolai) There are very few sites left within the Tikal sphere of influence except for Tikal itself and perhaps Copan. By that time Calakmul had extended its sphere of influence so much that almost the entire area around Tikal is under some kind of control associated with Calakmul.

(Linda) Now we are going to get a couple of interesting events on the Tikal site of the problem. Now we go to Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic Stairway 3 (Fig.272) and the date 9.12.9.8.1 (Oct.20, 681). Peter discovered this by accident in 1974. This group of glyphs all through here (B2-first glyph of A4) is the action of putting on a headdress or displaying it to the public. This is the verb to display the headdress (B2). This is the bolon tzak (A3) k'ak' hun (B3) which is the name of the headdress tuba "for him" (second part of A4). This means that some people displayed the headdress for him and he is a ch'ahom (B4). The rest of the text is missing; however, the side of the monument would have had Shield Jaguar's name. This then is Shield Jaguar's accession.

Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic Stairway 3

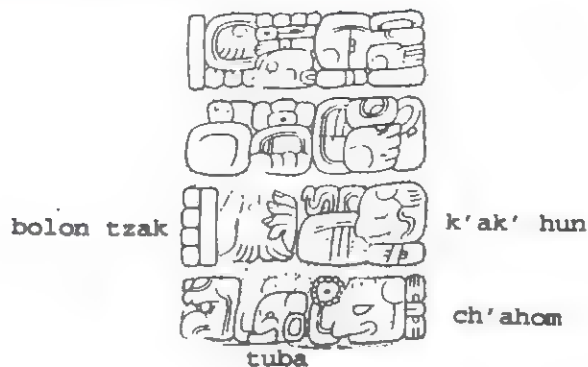


Fig.272

In the following May on 9.12.9.17.16 (May 3, 682) we have an accession recorded on Lintel 3 of Temple 1 at Tikal (Fig.273). Here is chumlah (B3) chaktelel (A4) "he was seated in the chakte-ship" followed by Hasaw Kan (B4) K'awil (A5) the divine lord of Mutul (B5). This means that Mutul has Hasaw Kan K'awil acceding into place and Yaxchilan has Shield Jaguar acceding into place.

Tikal Lintel 3 of Temple 1

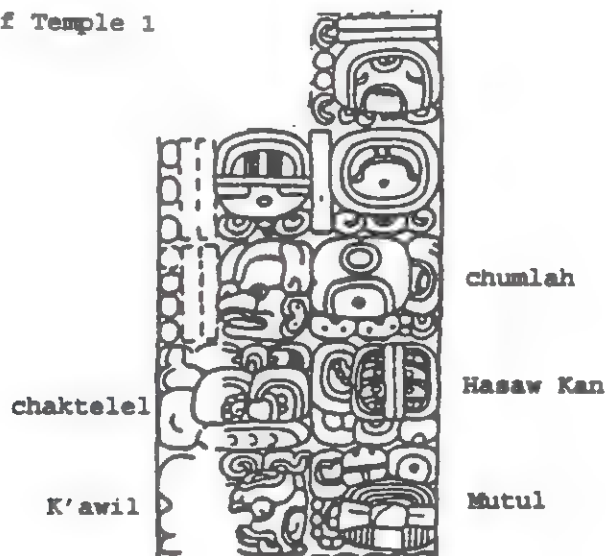


Fig.273

These are critical texts from Naranjo (Naranjo Stela 24 and Stela 29) and this shows how Calakmul and Dos Pilas begin to tighten the noose around Tikal's neck. The date here is 9.12.10.5.12 (Aug.27, 682). These are all parallel texts that speak about the sending of a woman who is the daughter of Balan Kan K'awil of Dos Pilas. This is the king who beat the Tikal ruler. He sends his daughter to Naranjo. All of this on Stela 24 from here A1 to A7 is the date (Fig.274) and all of this from A1 to B7 on Stela 29 is the date. In both cases following the date we have hul "she arrived" (B7 Stela 24, and A8 Stela 29). On Stela 24 we have the place that she arrived at and the toponym ends with the main sign of the Naranjo emblem glyph (A9 A10). Her name is recorded here as Na Wak (B10) Kanal Tzuk (A11) and she is a K'ul Mutul Ahaw (B11) or the divine Dos Pilas lord. This 6 Sky Title may be a personal name, but it seems to be a name that goes with women who are foreign women sent to other sites for political marriages. You have the same thing here on Stela 29 where she "arrives" but as the Hoy Ch'ul Na "the Companion Holy Woman" (B8) so she arrives at this status. Her name is recorded here (B10 A11). Then we get some information about places here (A12-B15). Then we get some additional information.

Here is "she arrived" (A16) and this is the name of the place where she arrived (B16 A17). We can't read that place yet, but the last glyph reads witz, so she arrives at a mountain place. The last passage states that 3 days later or k'in ox lot (A) on this day (B C) och "she enters" (D). I can't read the first part of the next glyph, but the next part is the pyramid glyph (E) followed by ti yotot "in the house of" (F). The next part contains the same glyphs that are used to spell the Naranjo emblem glyph (G-I). I think what this is telling us is her arrival reestablishes the house of Naranjo. Here is her name right here, Lady Wak (J) Kanal Tzuk (K) the k'ul Mutul Ahaw (L).

Naranjo Stela 24

Naranjo Stela 29

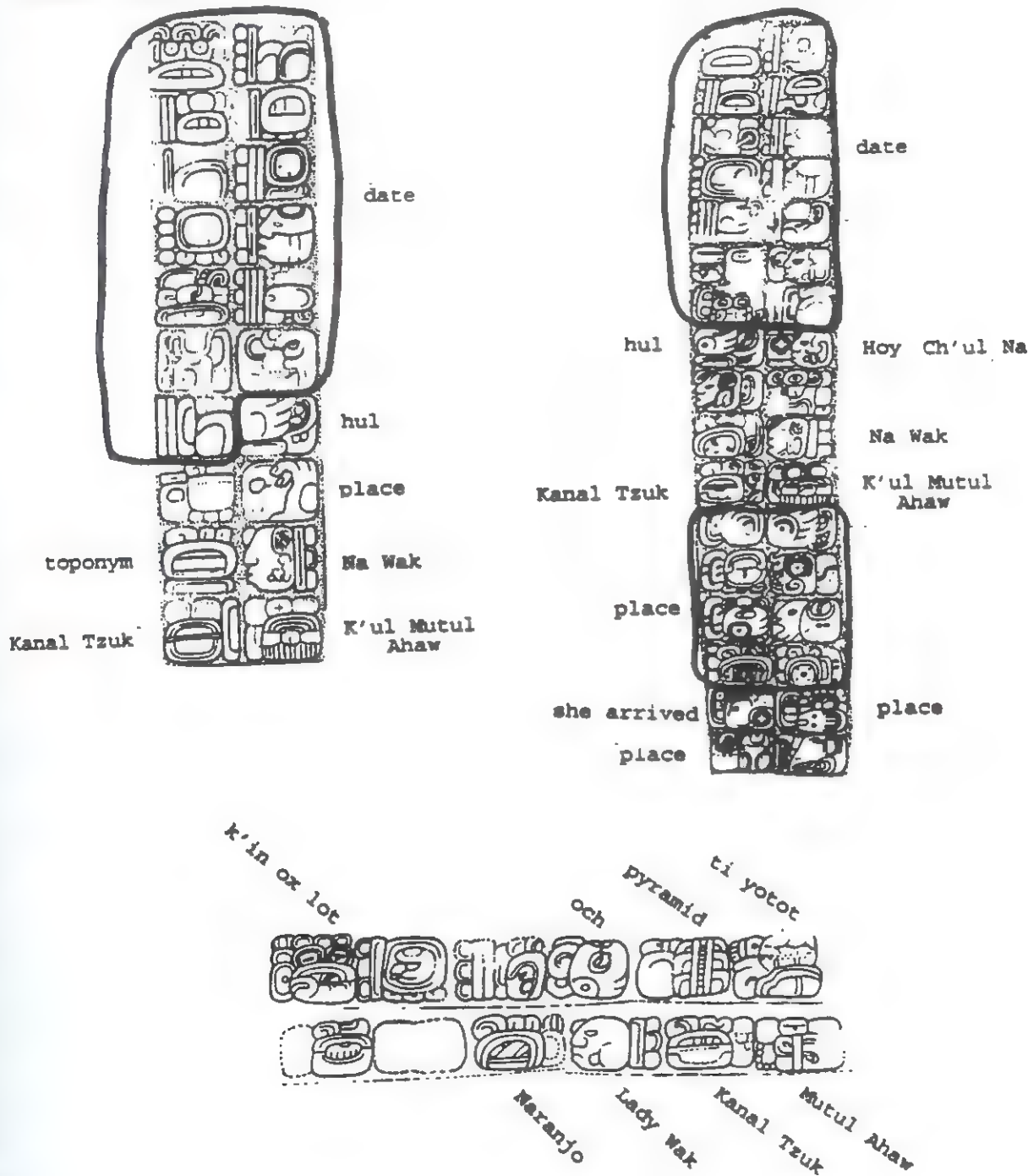


Fig. 274

In the early 1980's Peter Mathews realized that her father was named here. Here is the "child of father" glyph as stated on Naranjo Stela 24 (Fig.275) at B5. Her father's name was Balah (A6) Kan K'awil (B6) and as Steve has found on the new Stairway at Dos Pilas, these titles at (A7 B7) are in the name sequence of Balah Kan K'awil and there is no longer any doubt that this is the lady from Tikal, but rather Dos Pilas.

Naranjo Stela 24

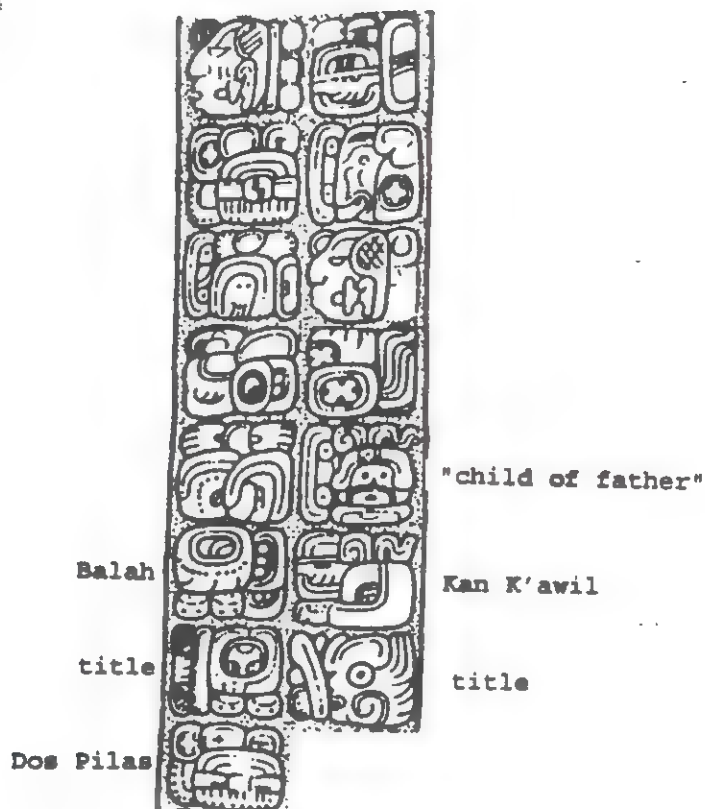


Fig.275

In fact here are those titles on Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 4 (Fig.276) (bottom row, second glyph). This stairway dates to 9.12.12.11.2 (Dec.4, 684). (Nikolai) These stairs are important because they commemorate the accession of Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas. The accession was on 9.9.12.11.2. This is the 3rd k'atun anniversary of his accession. Here we have the completion of 3 (B) k'atuns Balah Kan (C) K'awil K'ul Mutul Ahaw (D). This is also recorded here with an event that is described as iwal ak'otah "and the he dances" (D) ti ox (E) ahen (F). Ahen means to "create" and this maybe a metaphorical expression for accession. This dance is done at the "seat of" kun (G) and this is the hieroglyph for a "death platform" (H).



completion of 3 k'atuns Balah Kan Mutul Ahaw



completion of 3 k'atuns



awal ak'otah ti ox Ahen kun "death platform"



Fig.276

At 9.12.13.17.7 (Apr.3, 686) another important event takes place in the Calakmul sphere which is an accession of king Jaguar Paw. His accession is described here (Fig.277) on El Peru Stela 34 as ch'am k'awil (B2) or the "taking of the k'awil." Here is his name A3 and he is the K'ul Kan Ahaw or "the divine lord of Calakmul" (B3).

El Peru Stela 34



ch'am
k'awil

Yich'ak K'ak'

Calakmul

Fig.277

Here is Dos Pilas Panel 7 which has the same date (Fig.278). Here is the 7 Manik (A1) and this was the 5 Zip date here followed by hokah (B1) ti ahaw le or "he came out as king" Yukum (A2) which is the royal Calakmul title. His name is here recorded as Yich'ak K'ak' or Jaguar Paw of Calakmul (B2). This is the Sak Chuwen title (A3). This was observed by (B3 A4) Balah Kan K'awil of Dos Pilas (B4). "It took place

at" uti Nab Tunich (B5) or the "Calakmul place." We interpret this as evidence that Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas (Balah Kan K'awil) traveled to Calakmul in order to participate in the accession events. This is more evidence for the very close ties that existed between the two states.

Dos Pilas Panel 7











7 Manik			5 Zip hokah
Yukum			Yich'ak K'ak' Calakmul
ti ahaw le Sak Chuwen			observed by
Balah Kan			K'awil Dos Pilas
			uti Nab Tunich

Fig.278

(Linda) In the intervening time here we have the accession of Ruler 3 of Piedras Negras who is the man who married that lady from Man. His accession was on 9.12.14.13.1. (Nikolai) This is from another Site Q Glyphic Panel (Panel 4, Fig.279) and it dates to 9.12.14.14.14 (Feb.4, 687). It simply records that a ballgame pitzla (A1) was played by Jaguar Paw (B1) of Calakmul (A2). This may be an accession related ballgame. The ballgame very often accompanied accession ceremonies.

Site Q Glyphic Panel . 4



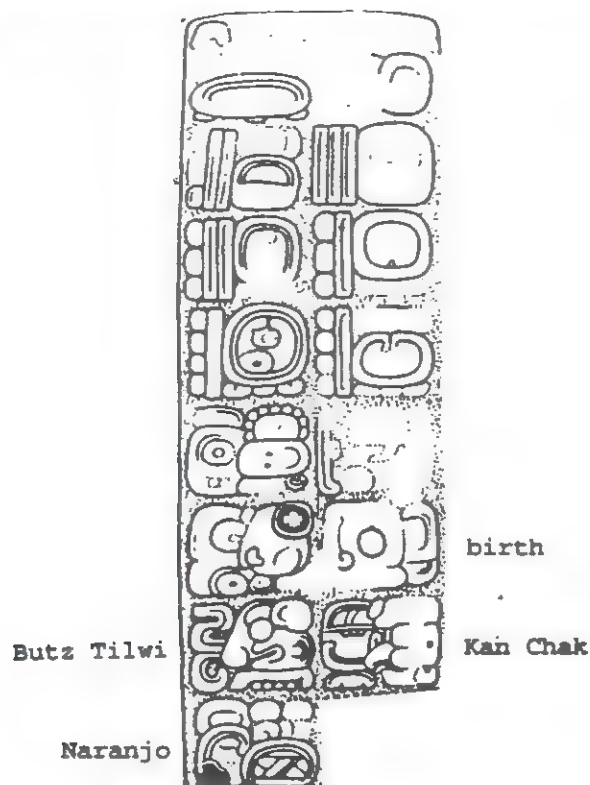
pitzla		Jaguar Paw
Calakmul		

Fig.279

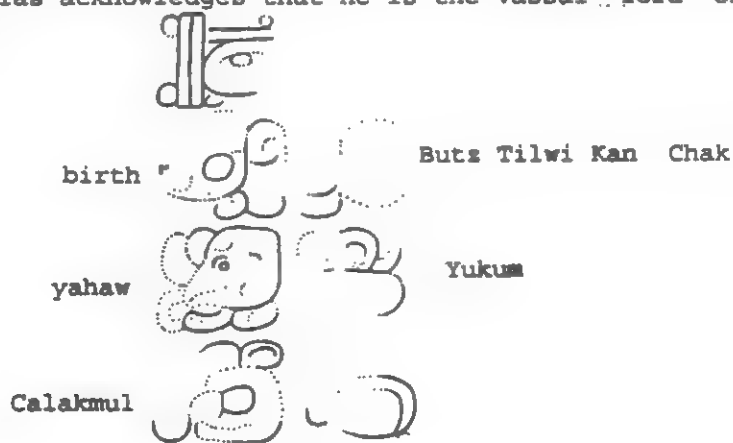
(Linda) The next text is also extremely important. We have recorded at several places at Naranjo (Naranjo Stela 22, Fig.280) the birth (B6) on 9.12.15.13.7 (Jan.3, 688) of Butz Tilwi (A7) Kan Chak (B7) or Smoking Squirrel and he is a "holy lord of Naranjo" (A8). Several years ago, Matt Looper found on Naranjo Stela 5 a clear parentage statement that makes the assumption that Butz Tilwi Kan Chak was the son of Lady Six Sky. So this is the child of that lady who came from Dos Pilas.

Naranjo Stela 22



What Simon and Nikolai discovered several months ago on Naranjo Stela 1 (Fig. 281) is the birth (A2) and this would have been the name (B2) Butz Tilwi Kan Chak. This is yahaw "the vassal lord of" (A3) Yukum (B3) and this is the Calakmul emblem glyph (A4). This then is the explicit acknowledgment that the son of the woman sent to Naranjo by the king of Dos Pilas acknowledges that he is the vassal lord of the king of Calakmul.

Naranjo Stela 1



The next one comes from Tonina (Fig. 282) and records the date 9.12.16.3.12 (June 16, 688) when we have the seating chum ahaw le "in the ahawship" (B1) of a man whose name was K'inich Bak Chak (A2). He is a yahaw te (B2) and he is a pitzil or "ballplayer" (A3). He is the divine lord of Pohp which was the name of Tonina (B3). He is important because he is going to kill Pakal's son.

Tonina

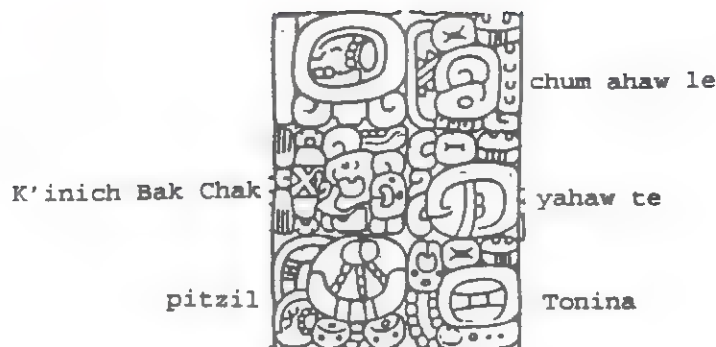


Fig.282

Now we are going to begin an extraordinary interaction between Tikal and Calakmul. We are still not sure if we fully understand what is going on here, but it is really amazing. This is from Tikal Altar 5 (Fig.283) that dates 9.12.19.12.9 (Nov.25, 691) and it was paired with Stela 16. The event is this (C) and we have no idea how to read it. It is a picture of a body with one foot raised up and I just wonder if it is not huli or something. The next glyph appears to be ch'ok naming a place (D) and then we have na te tun (E) kaywak (F) which is the name of the woman. This is a toponym that may refer to Topoxte (G). This means that a lady from Topoxte arrives at Tikal.

Tikal Altar 5

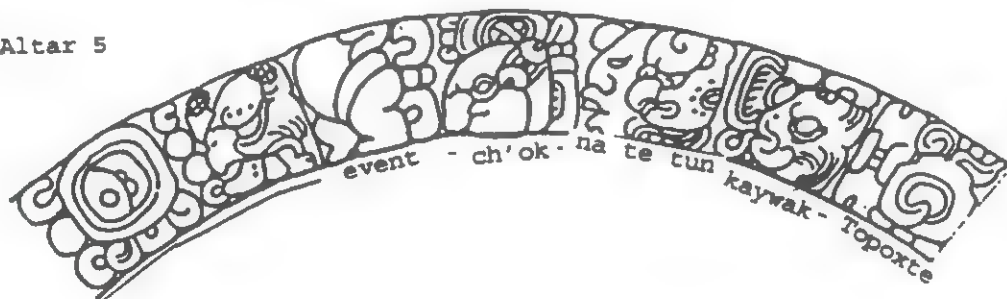


Fig.283

LATE CLASSIC WARFARE (9.13.0.0.0 - 9.13.6.2.0)

This is Tikal Stela 30 and Altar 14 (Fig.284) and they date to 9.13.0.0.0 (Mar.15, 692). This is a portrait of Hasaw Kan K'awil's first monument on this K'atun Ending. He erects his first Twin Pyramid Complex on this date.

Tikal Altar 14

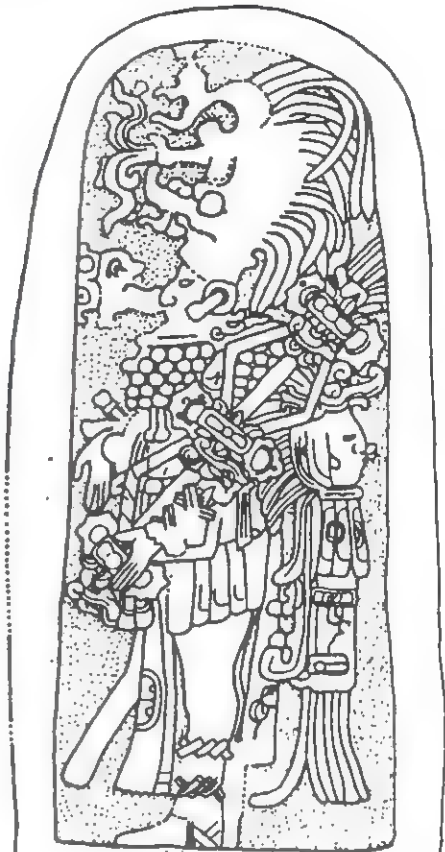


Fig.284

Now we have this young king Butz Tilwi going on a rampage. We suspect that it wasn't him, but his mother. The identification of these dynastic events were worked out by Michael Closs and these hubi events were worked out by some of my students here in Texas in the late 1970's. The first passage on Naranjo Stela 22 (Fig.285) records the date 9.13.1.3.19 (May 28, 693). This is ahaw ni (A3) which means "he became ahaw" and this is Butz Tilwi (B3) Kan Chak (A4) lord of Naranjo (B4).

Naranjo Stela 22

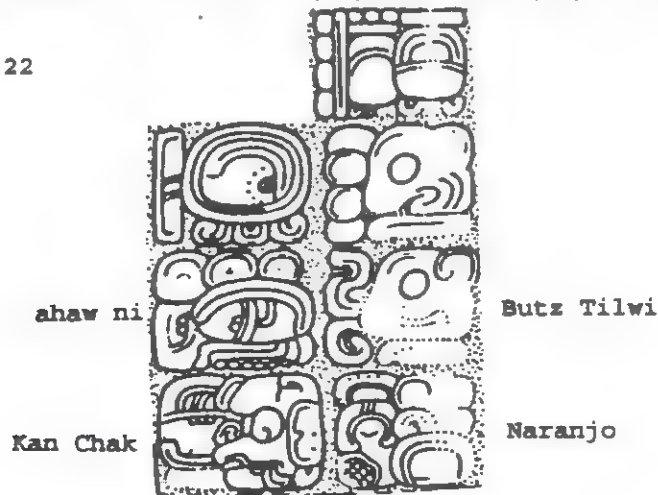


Fig.285

On 9.13.1.4.19 (June 17, 693), recorded in the next passage of Naranjo Stela 22 (Fig.286), which is only 20 days later, we have hubi "was downed" (B2) and this is the name of that person K'inichil Kab (A3). He is the guy portrayed under the feet of the mother on Stela 24.

Naranjo Stela 22

K'inichil Kab



hubi

Fig.286

Then shortly after that again recorded on Naranjo Stela 22 (Fig.287) we have the date 9.13.1.9.5 (Sept.11, 693) which is about 4 months later. We have puluy or "the burning" and I would presume that this is a place or a person (A3), but we do not know.

Naranjo Stela 22

puluy place



Fig.287

Then the next passage, Naranjo Stela 22 (Fig.288) on 9.13.1.13.14 (Dec.9, 693), we have pul bi or "the burning of this place" (B3) and this is ni pakal tok' kab (A4) which may read "my shield, flint, earth."

Naranjo Stela 22

ni pakal
tok' kab



pul bi

Fig.288

(Linda) This is another Naranjo event and it too is tied to the other events by astronomy. This is Naranjo Stela 22 (Fig.289) and it dates 9.13.2.16.0 (Jan.19, 695). The inscription begins here with the date recorded in these three glyphs (B1-B2). The event is hubuy (B3) "was thrown down" and the person who was thrown down in this case was Ah Mutul or "He of Mutul" (A4). Now I don't think that this is Dos Pilas because Dos Pilas is an ally. In fact, he has an uncle ruling there. Here you have chukah (B4) "he was captured" and this is Sih or Siha (A5) K'awil (B5). These Sih K'awil names are very indicative of the Tikal names, so this seems to be someone of Tikal who was captured, but it is not the king. It is somebody else. "It happened at" uti

(A6) and this is a place named K'an or "rabbit" (B6). That place is represented on the bottom of Stela 40. Apparently, the battle occurred somewhere in the polity of Naranjo. Tikal attacked and they didn't do too well. I'm presuming that Tikal attacked because it is happening in the polity of Naranjo, instead of someplace close to Tikal. So he goes in one direction and then the mother celebrated the end of the third tun (Fig.290) on 9.13.3.0.0 (Feb.28, 695). Here is her name at A4 B4, Lady Wak Kanal Tzuk..

Naranjo Stela 22

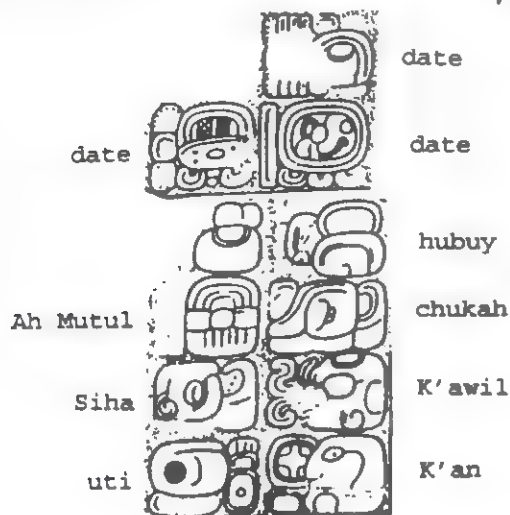


Fig.289



Naranjo.
Stela 40

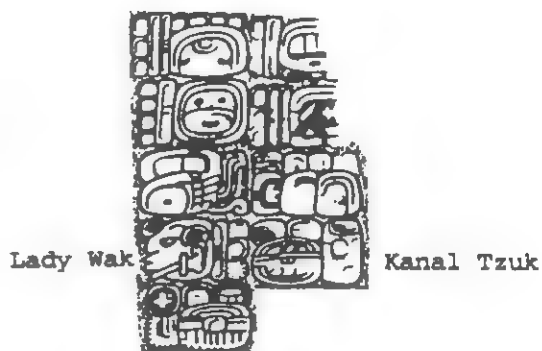


Fig.290

Apparently, Hasaw Kan K'awil did not learn a lesson or else he was lead into a trap because 7 months after the end of that tun (9.13.3.0.0) this happened (Tikal, Lintel 3 of Temple 1, Fig.291) on 9.13.3.7.18 (Aug.5 695). Here is the record of the oxtun (A1-A3). This here (A2) is the yax pih or "the three bundles of the 3 tun point" and the 7 winals and 18 k'ins (B2) on 11 Etz'nab (A3) 11 Ch'en (B3). We have hu bu yi or hubuy "was downed" (A4) u tok' pakal "the flint shield of" (B4) Yich'ak K'ak' "claw of fire" (A5) k'ul kan ahaw "the divine lord of Calakmul" (B5). Now we know that his flint shield was taken, but we have seen at Piedras Negras that this also implies that "He was taken." Then we get the same bak na verb again (A6) followed by yahaw (B6). The main sign of this yahaw glyph appears to be a snake back with ragged seated edges. Nikolai and I checked this against the original monument and that seated edge is there. Now the amazing thing is that when you look at this looted and newly found panel (Fig.292) we have the accession (A3) on 9.11.4.4.0 (Dec.9, 656) of this guy named Ch'ab Ahaw (B4) Yak' Ak Ahaw (A5) from Cancuen. This was done "by the action of" u kahi (B8) the yukum (A9) of Calakmul and he does this "in the company of" yichnal (B5) the Chak Te (A6). Here is the exact same glyph (B6). It may be this very diety that is being taken captive by the lord of Tikal. (Nikolai) This could be the palanquin of the Site Q king which was taken captive.

Tikal, Lintel 3 of Temple 1

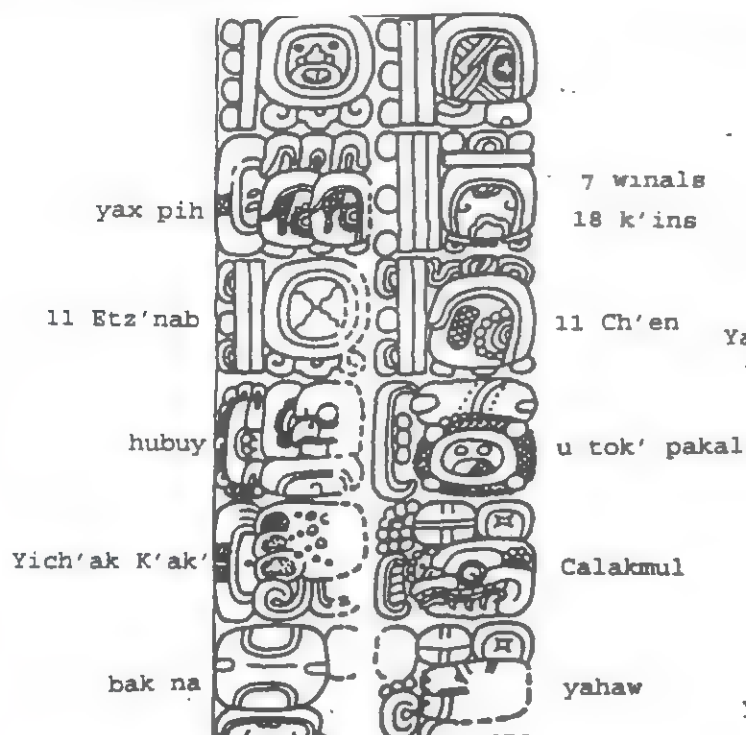


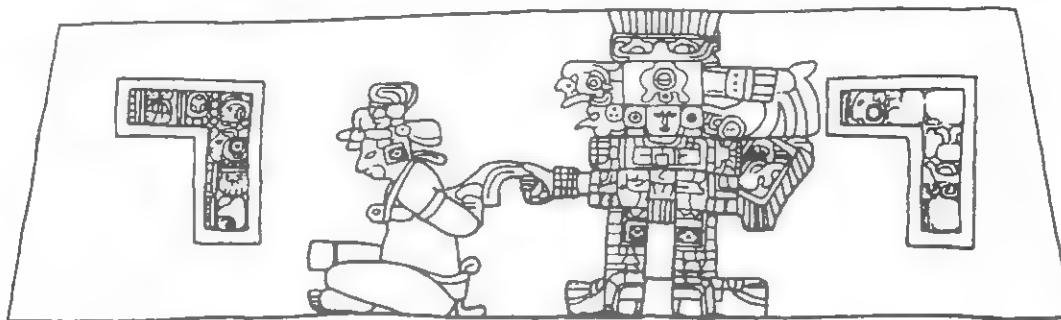
Fig. 291

newly found panel



Fig. 292

(Linda) This is a stucco sculpture from the roof of Structure 5D-57 at Tikal (9.13.3.8.11 or Aug. 18, 695) (Fig. 293). In Clemency Coggins' dissertation, the first thing she says is that this Calendar Round (B1 C1) is exactly 13 days after that capture. I think she got that from Proskouriakoff. Here is the 13 days (A1). The event recorded here (C2) is nawah and this is Ah Bolon something (C3) and Ah Sah (C4) which could also be "He of Naranjo." Now Simon sent me a letter with things to think about before he came to this workshop. That letter he had gotten from Peter Harrison is a copy of the original field drawing rather than the redrawings that have been done of the right text of this stucco sculpture. I have had these drawings for over 20 years and never noticed that. As Simon pointed out, this glyph right here (C3) is very likely to be Yich'ak K'ak' or Jaguar Paw. I think he is exactly right. This is u bah (A1) followed by either ahaw or a title (B1 C1), but this clearly seems to be Jaguar Paw. This captive is either a sublord or it's Jaguar Paw himself and in the scene we have Hasaw Kan K'awil dressed as the Chak Te in the Tlaloc war costume.



Tikal stucco sculpture from the roof of Structure 5D-57

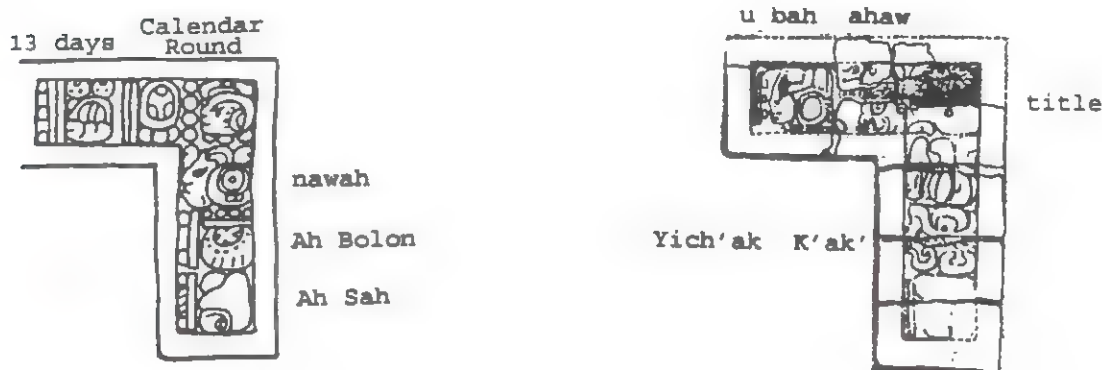
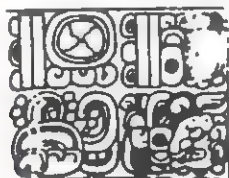


Fig.293

Then 27 days later, exactly 260 years after the death of the Atlatl Kuy guy (who is named in the last passage on Tikal Stela 31) we have another event which I think is going on for the dedication of Structure 33-3rd in which Hasaw Kan K'awil puts Stela 31 to resurrect if after it had been broken up. On 9.13.3.9.18 (Sept.14, 695) as recorded on Tikal Lintel 3 of Temple 1 (Fig.294) we have the verb here (A2) which Barbara MacLeod has suggested reads kuchtah "to carry" and I didn't like that reading very much until Nikolai and I discovered that on Lintel 2 of Temple 4 this glyph is used to describe the same event. In this case, it is a pictographic representation of "to carry something." The text then continues with tu "in" Nu Balam Chaknal (B2).

Tikal Lintel 3 of Temple 1



kuchtah tu Nu Balam Chaknal Fig.294

Tikal Lintel 2 of Temple 4



kuchtah tu Nu Balam Chaknal

This is the Nu Balam Chak that they are referring to (Fig.295). This is the palanquin. We think it's the palanquin of the Calakmul ruler.



Nu Balam Chak

Fig.295

The next phrase (Fig.296) is from the same lintel and it begins with u tzak k'ul "he conjured god" (A1) tu ch'am "thru the harvesting" (B1) ti yak'il "from his tongue" (A2). Here is his name, Hasaw (B2) Kan K'awil (A3) K'ul Mutul Ahaw "the holy lord of Tikal" (B3).

Tikal Lintel 3 of Temple 1

u tzak k'ul

ti yak'il

Kan K'awil



tu ch'am

Hasaw

K'ul Mutul Ahaw

Fig.296

The next phrase again from Lintel 3 (Fig.297) begins with patwan "to make or form" (A1) Tan Kun Mutul "in the center of the seat of Tikal" (B1). We think that this might be the Great Plaza. The actor is then named by his parentage. He is the u hun tan "the cherished one of" (A2) Lady Jaguar Throne (B4) and he is the u lot ch'am "the harvest of" (B5). Here is Nu Bak Chak (B7). He is the son of Nu Bak Chak and he turned around and avenged his father by taking captive the king of Calakmul.

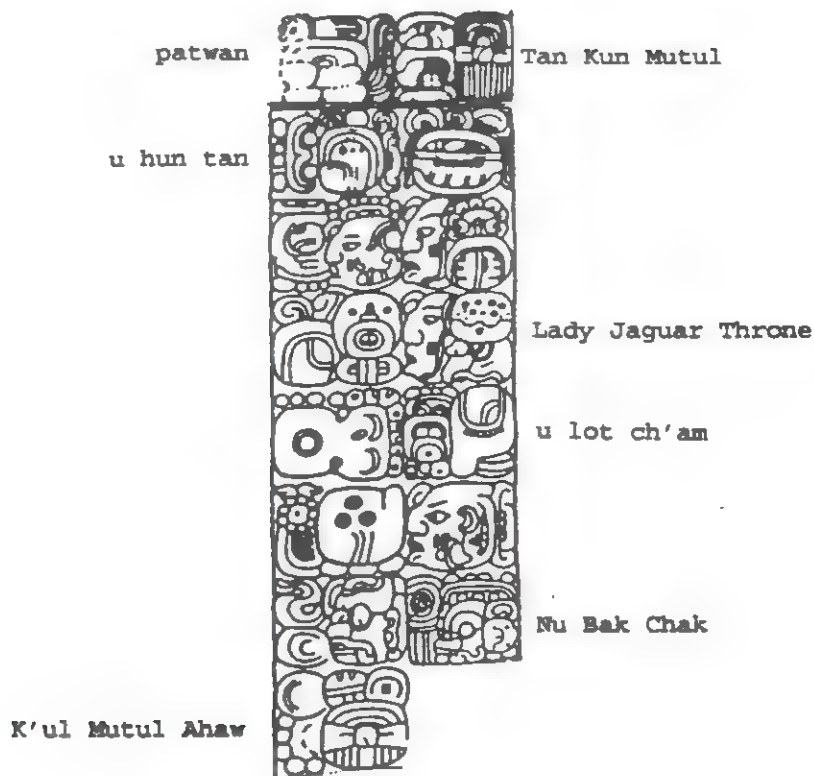


Fig.297

Now this is a carved bone from Tikal (Fig.298) that dates to 9.13.3. 13.15 (Nov.30, 695). We have written here (C3) hubuy "was downed" and I have always taken this next glyph to be another Ah Koban (C4). It might that Koban site to the north of Tikal. (Nikolai) If this is the Koban in the north it would be very interesting because Koban shares with Naranjo the 9.12.10.5.12 date which is the arrival date of Lady Wak Kanal Tzuk. This is the arrival of the Calakmul lady at Naranjo. (Linda) Then we have the name here Ch'a Balam Chub (C5 C6) followed by u kahi "by the action of" (C7) this guy named here (C8) Split Earth. When you go to the top of the left text we begin with the name Ox Hate (A1) Ixil Ahaw (A2). Here we have a glyph that we can not read (B1) followed by the same name at (B2) that reads Split Earth and he is a Calakmul lord (C3). This then is a capture done by this Calakmul lord. (Nikolai) The question here is why was this carved on a bone and found in the tomb of a Tikal king?

carved bone from Tikal



Fig. 298

At Dos Pilas on Stela 8 (Fig. 299) we have the date 9.13.6.2.0 (Mar. 24, 698) which goes with this accession chumwani (A2) ti ahaw le (B2) "the seating in the kingship of" the next Dos Pilas king, Ruler 2. His name is written here (B8) Itzam K'awil and he is a k'ul mutul ahaw "the divine lord of Dos Pilas" (A9). This is a very explicit accession statement that includes the taking of certain implements such as u ch'am wa (A3) "he takes or he grabs" and what he takes is xot or xot te. I'm not sure what that means in this context (B3). Then we have u bah (A4) pa chi or pach (B4) and this is a glyph that Simon and I think is related to palanquins. Maybe it said that this king is receiving his own palanquin or that he receives it into a palanquin. All of this is done yichnal "in the company of" (A5) u k'ul "the Protector Gods" (B5). The names of the gods who preside over the accession are written here (A6-A8) and they include the Paddler God (A6 B6) Nen "Mirror" (A7) K'an Tun "Precious Stone" (B7) Chak (A8). Werner and I think that the glyph way probably read nen, but we can not yet prove it. There is a very similar accession phrase on Ixlu Altar 1. This "happened in" uti (B8) in the Dos Pilas (A9) place (B9).

Dos Pilas Stela 8



Fig. 299

LATE CLASSIC WARFARE (9.15.12.2.2 - 9.15.15.14.0)

Okay guys, obviously we were overly ambitious. So we will start out at this point next year, but in the meantime we are going to jump to the lintels of Tikal. This is because understanding what is happening on the lintels of Temple 4 is an extraordinary help in understanding the ideological framework of how these events are played out. We are going to do this in chronological order also.

These are two Star War events that we could never figure out the astronomy of (Tikal Lintel 3 of Temple 4). In preparing this workbook we made an important discovery by sheer accident. Nikolai told me something that I didn't remember and did something else which discovered something that Nikolai didn't know about. This all sort of came together on Friday night at about 1:30 in the morning.

We have a Star War right here (Fig.300) at B2. Now Star Wars are usually astronomically timed. What Nikolai and Werner discovered was that several days before this event on July 21, 743 (Aug.1, 743) there was an eclipse (48%). It began at 14:38 PM and it's maximum was at 15:43 PM. It was over by 16:47 PM. So then just a few days after a visible eclipse this event happened. (Nikolai) The event is a Star War against Yaxha (B2). At first everyone took this to be the great archaeological site of Yaxha, but I think Simon was the first to doubt this association. He found out that Yaxha is a more commonly used name and that we have another Yaxha also mentioned on the San Diego Cliff sculpture which is in the western Peten, relatively close to El Peru. Yaxha is also mentioned in one of the late lintels of Yaxchilan. This is the glyph lak'in "east" (first half of A3) wa ka ah or wakah (second half of A3) and this is the El Peru toponym. It does occur on El Peru stelae. The idea then was that this described a Star War against an east Yaxha. This Yaxha is to the east of El Peru. This might be Laguna Perdida which is a lake near El Peru. After this Star War another event took place called the bak wah "the capturing of" (B3) and here we have the name of two gods (A4 B4) who are u k'ul "the gods of" (A5) a person named Balam Tzam (B5). He is from El Peru (A6 B6). All of this happens u kahi "by the doing of" (A7) Ruler B or Yik'in Kan K'awil (B7) of Tikal K'ul Mutul Ahaw (A8) who is a "4 K'atun Chakte" (B8).

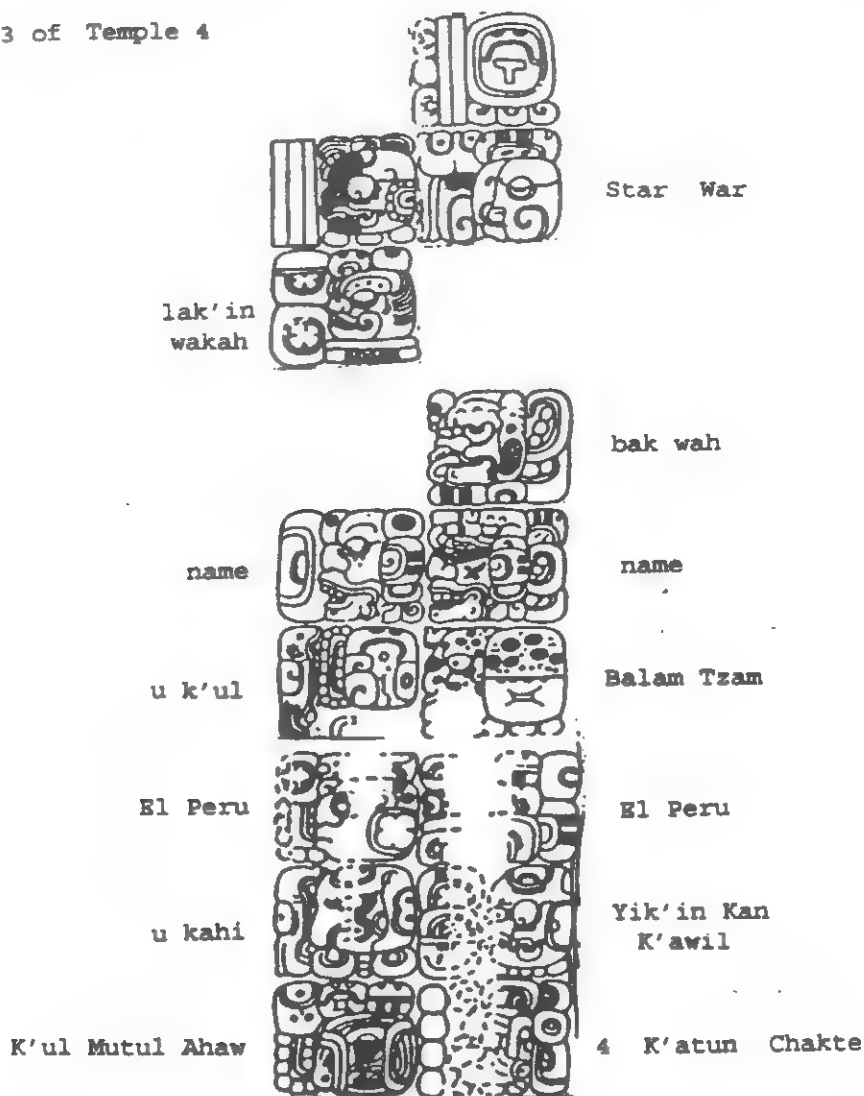
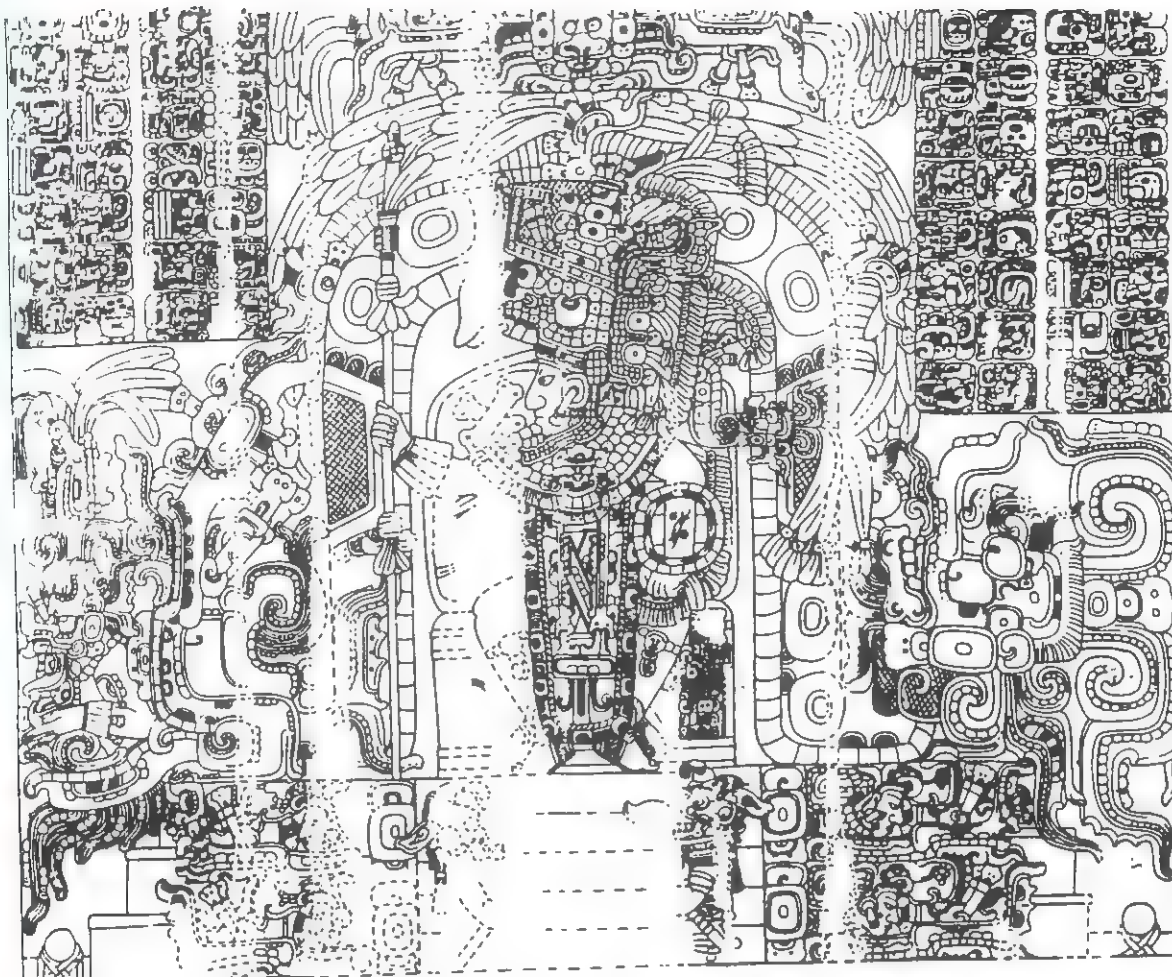


Fig.300

This is the next passage from the same lintel (Tikal Lintel 3 of Temple 4) (Fig.301) which dates 9.15.12.2.3 (Aug.2, 743). Simon and I think that if you compare this head at B4 which contains the percent sign and the dotted eye) that you can clearly see that this is a representation of God A[^], one of the Deity Gods. Simon and I think that this refers to the huge God A[^] palanquin which is taken by the king of Tikal as booty. In fact, on this lintel the Tikal king is dressed as God A[^]. He holds a shield with the percentage sign which is a characteristic of God A[^] and in fact there are two God A[^] figures below the feet of the king. The text then continues with an unknown event (B2). It concerns u tz'at "the sage or artist of" (A3) ta k'u ok (B3) and we have no idea what it is, but it has to do with the "finishing of." Here is yok "the base of" (A4). This probably has to deal with the palanquin in some way. Then we have the glyph for God A[^] (B4) which could be another reference to the palanquin "and then he arrived at Tikal" iwal huli Mutul (A5). This is the least understood passage on the Tikal lintels and it is parallel to the Tikal Stela 31 passage. That is the reason why we think the war text (the 8.17.1.4.12 text) on Stela 31 also has to do with the manipulation with the taking of the palanquin of idols or statues and is of important ritual significance in the procession of the Waxaktun king.



Tikal Lintel 3 of Temple 4

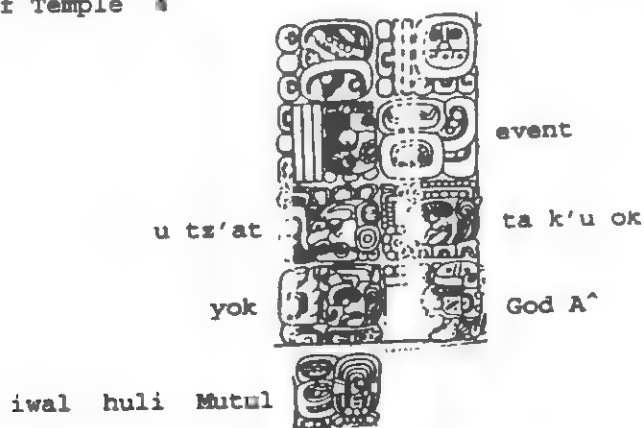
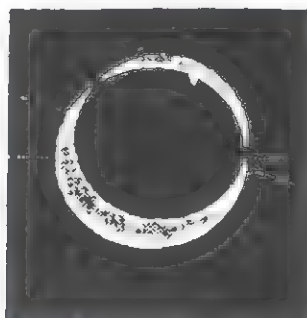


Fig.301

(Linda) The date for this last passage was 9.15.12.2.3. When I first checked this on my computer, I had the wrong date and I missed the eclipse. I discovered something else though quite to my surprise. This is actually a picture of that eclipse and it is actually bigger than the first one (Fig.302).



lunar eclipse

Fig.302

What I discovered was that this eclipse was not just two or three days before the war event, it was fifteen days before it on January 19th. It was an 85% eclipse. Fifteen days earlier than that on January 4th was a lunar eclipse that was visible at Tikal and was total on January 4th. What we have then is a visible lunar eclipse and they wait fifteen days until there was an 85% solar eclipse. So they waited fifteen days and this battle occurs on the next station that you can have a lunar eclipse. Both of these events are timed by lunar and solar eclipses. It started at 10:00 AM. Its maximum was at 12:02 PM and it was over by 2:02 PM.

The next passage that we are going to look at is again on Tikal Lintel 3 of Temple 4 (Fig.303). The date for this event is 9.15.12. 11.12 (Feb.3, 744). The eclipses were earlier. The important thing here is that the event occurs on the next eligible time for an eclipse. The date is recorded here (A1-B2) and then they tell you to count forward 2 tuns (A3) to this day (B3 A4). Now the actual war is not on this day. This next glyphs read ok "foot or base" sak nik lak "white flower plate" (B4) and this is the placing of a cache of some sort. This is the head variant of the k'inich title (A5) followed by the name of the king (B5). His name reads K'inich Yik'in kan K'awil. He is called a k'ul way or "Holy Sorcerer" (A6) and we do not know what the last glyph is (B6).

Tikal Lintel 3 of Temple 4

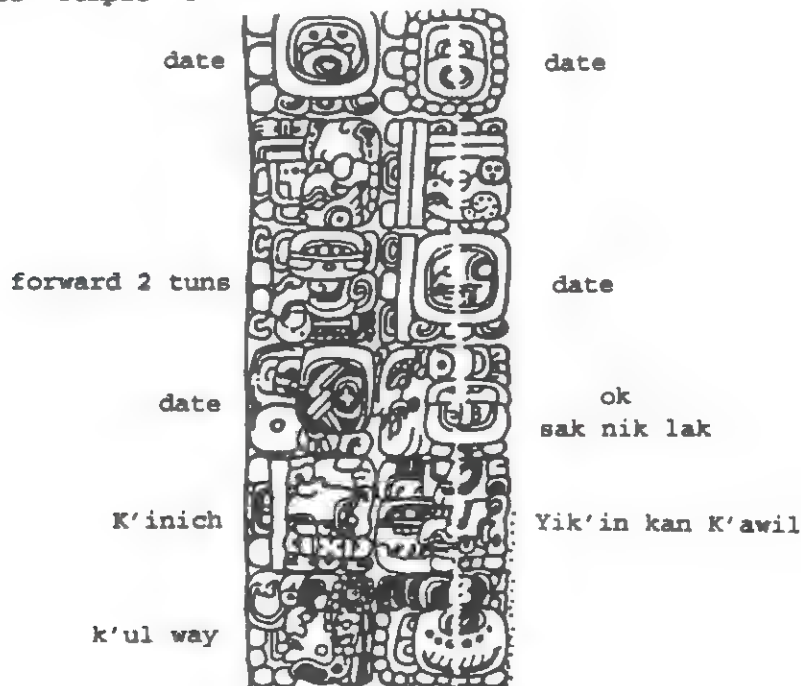


Fig.303

Then we have an event (Fig.304) that dates to 9.15.12.12.13 (Feb.4, 744) and it is 1 day later (A1). Here we have the star over the kaj "town" glyph (B2). Then as Simon first demonstrated this is the Wak Kabnal which is a locative and a title that repeatedly is used at Naranjo (A3). This is tu kun "at his seat" (B3) and this is the Zero God or Square-Nosed Beastie. This is patron god of Naranjo.

Tikal Lintel 2 of Temp'le IV

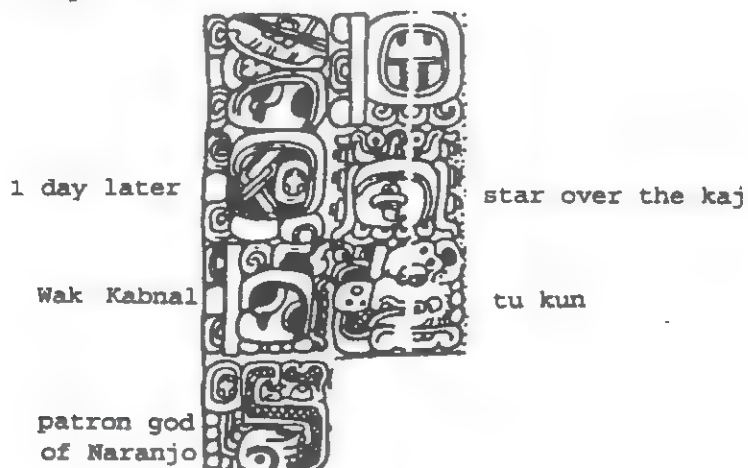


Fig.304

(Fig.305) On the same day we have the same bak wah verb again (A1) which means the "capturing of" and Simon and Nikolai have suggested that this is the glyph for palanquin (B1). There is no phonetic proof of it yet, but it is a good hypothesis that we are trying to trace down. It appears as if the word for palanquin ends with ki.

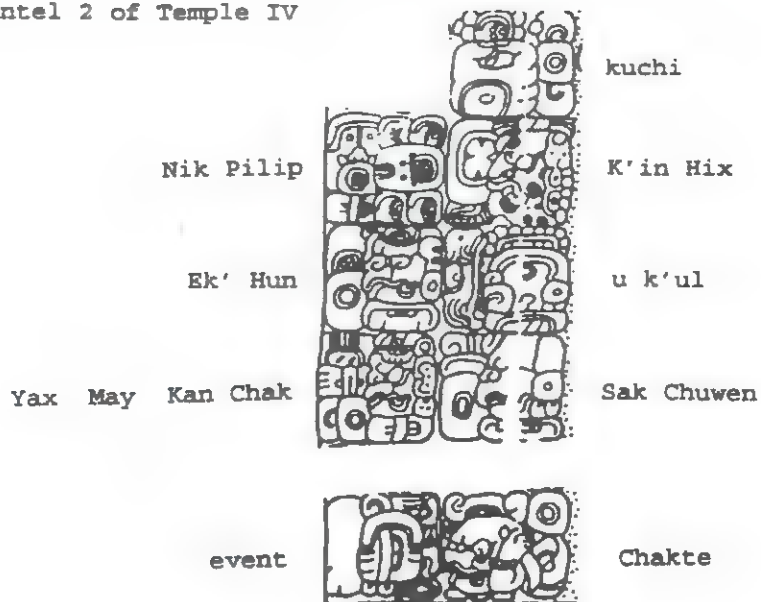
Tikal Lintel 2 of Temple IV



Fig.305

The next passage (Fig.306) begins with kuchi "was carried" (B1). Then we have Nik Pilip (A2) K'in Hix (B2) Ek' Hun "of the black head-dress" (A3). This is the name of the god who stands over the king. This is followed by u k'ul "the god of" (B3) and Simon first identified the next glyph as Yax May Kan Chak (A4) Sak Chuwen (B4). Now if we would have time, I would have showed you the accession and the child events of this ruler at Naranjo. This name appears in name phrases of Smoking Squirrel as well, but always with his name with them. This name here (A4 B4) never stands for Smoking Squirrel by itself. This is the paraphrase then: u kul "the god of" this person Yax May Kan Chak who is a Sak Chuwen." Now what Simon was able to identify and all of us miss-ed was his name carved on the bottom of Tikal Stela 5. His name is Yax May Kan Chak Sak Chuwen and he is from Naranjo. The text then continues with an event (A5) that looks related to the one that we saw with capture at Palenque and we have the Chakte title following it (B5).

Tikal Lintel 2 of Temple IV



Tikal Stela 5



Fig.306

Now this is Tikal Lintel 2 of Temple 4 and here is the palanquin (Fig.307). Notice that the palanquin is called a K'in Hix. Here is the guy with a jaguar and a cruller. This is the Jaguar Sun god right here. Notice here (in between layers at the bottom of the palanquin) is the main sign of the Naranjo emblem glyph. This is the actual palanquin. Here is our fellow, who is the Chakte sitting in the palanquin as he is carried.



Fig.307

(Nikolai) We are now going to look at Tikal Lintel 3 (Fig.308) and the date 9.15.15.2.3 (July 13, 746). This is the text on the right half of the lintel. (Linda) This is exactly 3 tuns after he arrived back at Tikal. (Nikolai) The verb (A2) is read nachi or nayich and we have no idea how the verb is read, but the second part reads ti kan "in the sky or with the snake." David Stuart then deciphered the next glyph as tzab kan "rattlesnake" followed by tzuk (B2). Tzuk is also a word for "constellation." (Linda) This means that this may be in the rattlesnake constellation or in the area of the Pleiades or Sagittarius. (Nikolai) Then we have this ma sign, a ba sign, a hand, and an ahaw glyph following. The text continues with u natal ch'ahom (B3) or "for the first scatterer." Then we have u bah an (A4) with the number tree infixed in the gopher head for the an reading. This may translate as "he goes carving." The next glyph records the name of a god (B4) and it is also recorded on a bone in the Dallas Art Museum. This is the name of God A[^] (A5). (Linda) The thing that may be going on here is the renewal or the fixing of this palanquin because they would have to be kept in repair and recarved and repainted. This may be a ceremonial renewal exactly in the way Linda described the renewal of

the statues. (Nikolai) That includes a ch'ahom bloodletting. These glyphs name gods u kul (B5). Here is Chakte (A6) or the "god of Chakte." Here we have u kuchtah "he was carried" (B6 A7) and so this is the first time that the palanquin was carried. (Linda) The next glyph begins with ti "in" and the snake is this god right here (Fig.309) when you look at the whole lintel. See the stuff coming out of his mouth? This head then is emerging from the mouth of this huge snake which is wrapped around the palanquin. This means that he is carrying inside that snake. (Nikolai) Here is Ruler B's name (A8-B9). His name is Yik'in Kan K'awil (A8). I think that the distinction between carrying the palanquin and carrying the snake is that the palanquin was carried before, but the snake is carried for the very first time in this event which is 3 years after his arrival as the victor from the war against El Peru.

Tikal Lintel 3

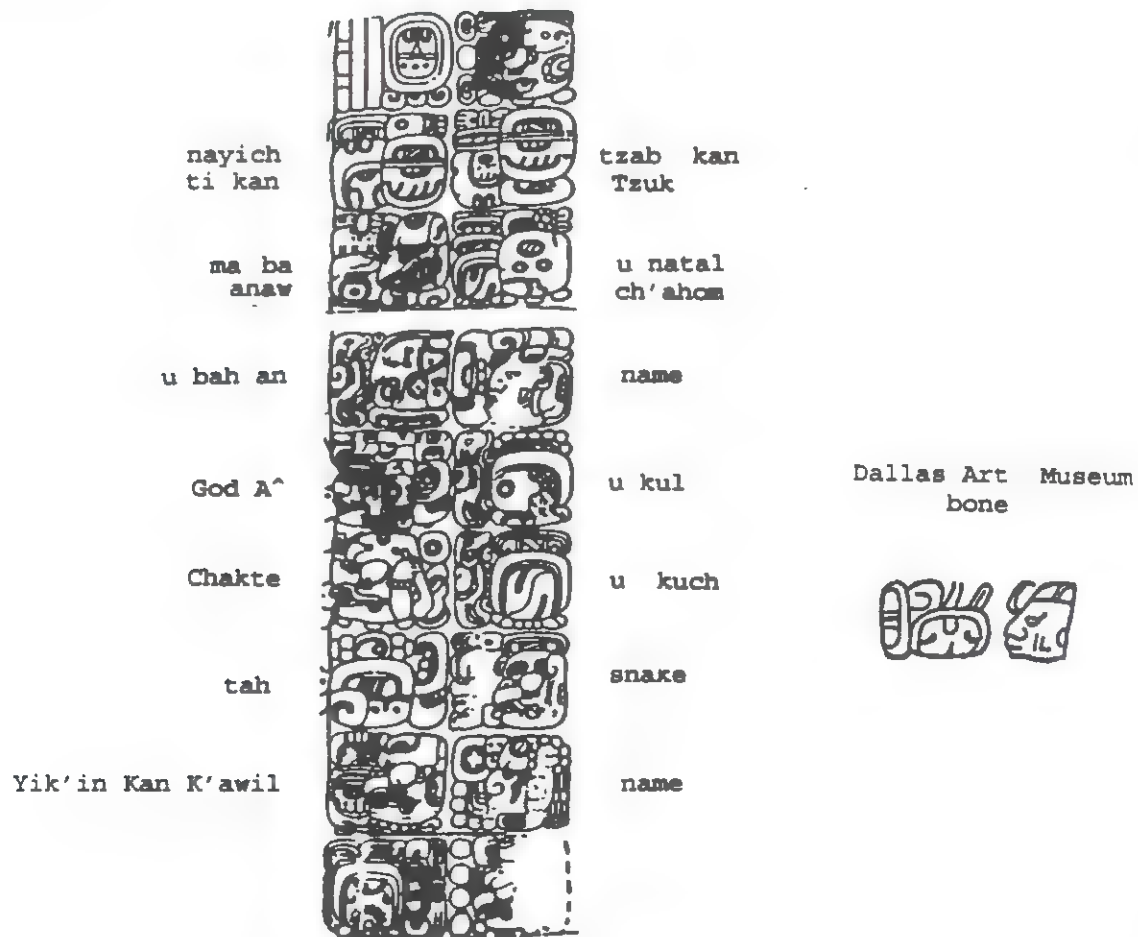


Fig.308

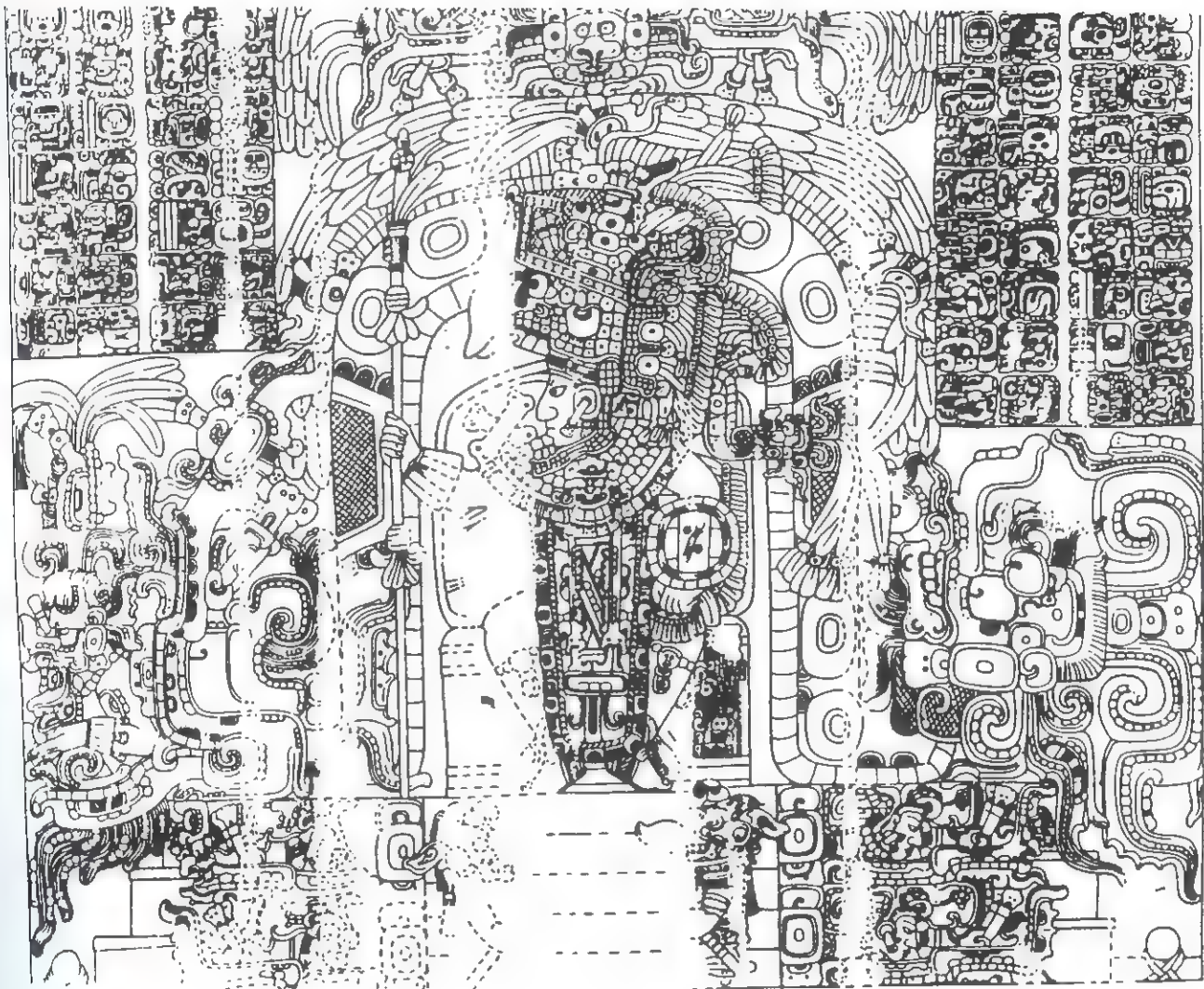


Fig.309

(Linda) Now this same period of the snake results in the last event (Fig.310). (Nikolai) This passage begins with ak'otah "he danced" (A1) ti "with" ku something (B1) and this is the head of God A[^] (A2). This passage explains then that this ruler (Ruler B) is shown as a

dancer. This movement is imitating the movement of the dance. Only the tips of his toes are touching the ground (see Fig.309). This is not the only case where we have dances from a seated position. Finally we arrive at the next verb which is read patlah which means "it was formed or shaped" (B2). Then we have God A[^] named again followed by ob nal (A3) at the Tikal Sky Place (B4). This entire text describes in very much detail what we see depicted on the lintel. Ruler B is publicly demonstrating how important the text of this palanquin was and he integrates the foreign polity into his own rituals. I can only image that he was traveling around Tikal, through the city with his palanquin and dancing his victory. (Linda) I suspect that this location was the place where they stored this palanquin. (Nikolai) Next we have a parentage statement beginning with bah "he goes" (A4) u huntan "he is the cherished one of" (B4) Lady (A5) and she is a Yok Man Ahaw (B5). I don't think that is the same Man as the one that the Piedras Negras women are from. This is also part of her name (A6). He is also called a sih "child of father" (B6) u lot ch'am (A7). There isn't really a good translation of what lot ch'am means. Lot means "to put together and ch'am means "to harvest." His father's name is here (B7) or Ruler A (Hasaw Kan K'awil). He is a k'ul Way Ahaw (A8) and he is a 4 K'atun Chakte (B8).

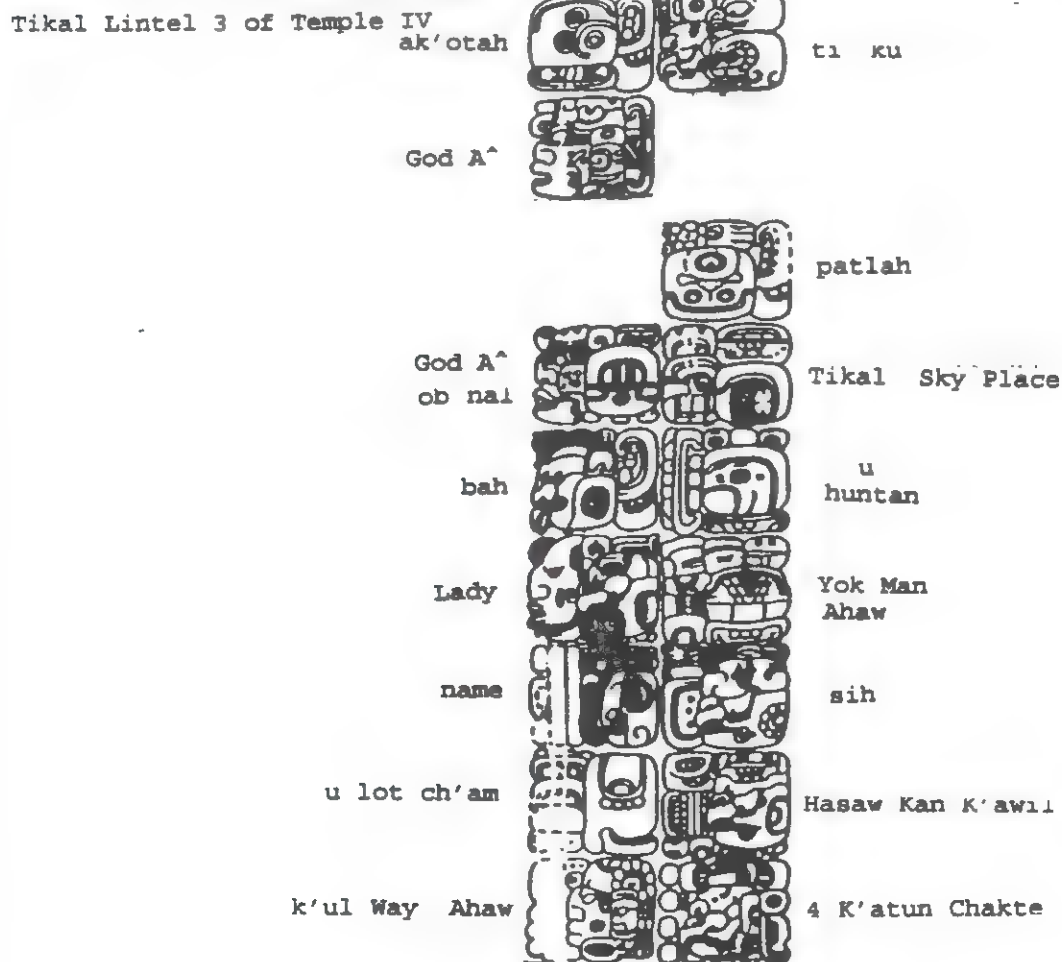


Fig.310

(Linda) The very last text that I want to do is from Tikal on Lintel 2 of Temple 4 (Fig.311). The date is 9.15.15.14.0 (Mar.7, 747). On this lintel we have the K'in Hix as the palanquin (Fig.312). Here is the distance number that leads forward to the date 9.15.15.14.0 (A1-B2). Here is the glyph that has the outreached hands (A3). This is the kuch verb that means "was carried." Following that is the glyph that Nikolai and Simon have proposed is the palanquin glyph (B3). This is the perfect place for it because on the other text we had the proper

name of the palanquin and here it would make sense as the word for category of palanquin. Then we have Ruler B's name Yik'in Kan K'awil (A4) followed by u k'ul way "the Holy Sorcerer" (B4) and he is a 4 K'atun Chakte (A5). We don't know what the rest of this is (B5-B6). This might be a dance here (A6 B6). Now if we look at the lintel we can see that he has a Manikin Scepter and a shield. Up above him to the left are what seems to be the Paddler Gods in mountains.

Tikal on Lintel 2 of Temple 4

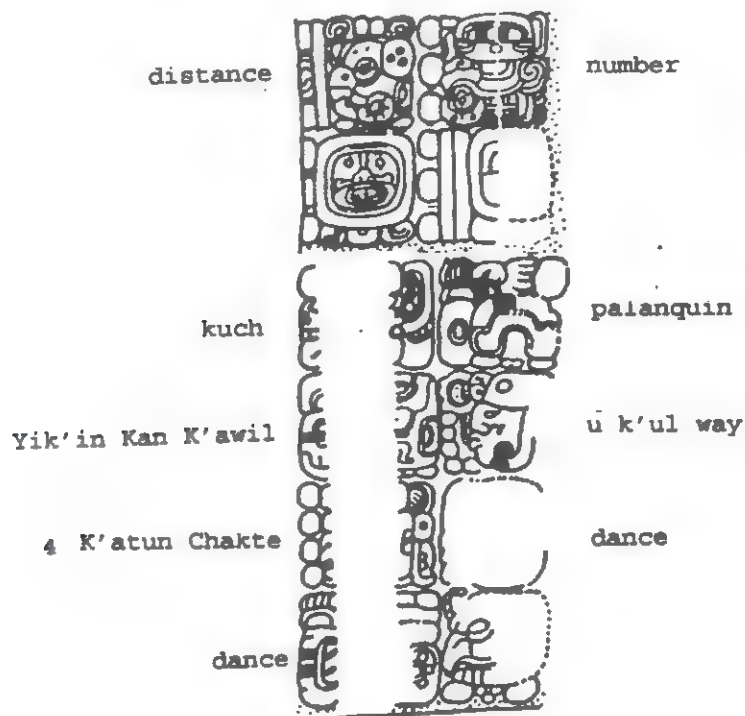


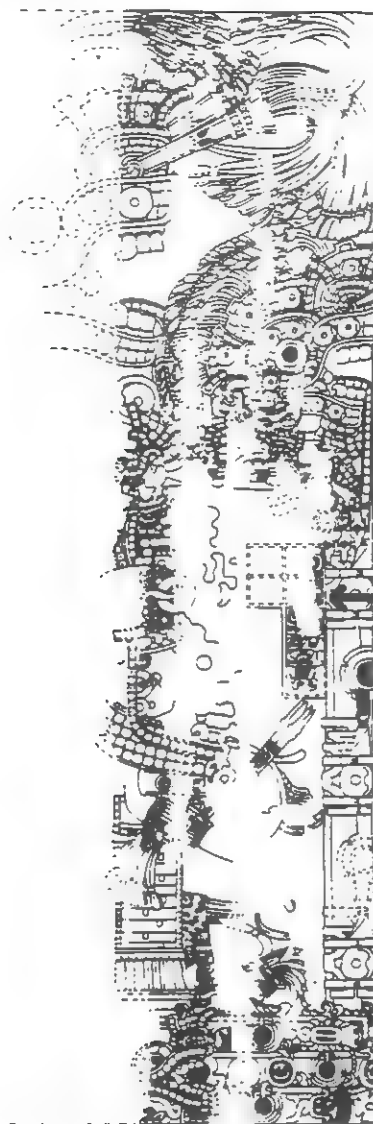
Fig.311



Tikal Lintel 2 of Temple 4

Fig.312

(Nikolai) I just want to give you a few notes on this lintel (Tikal Lintel 2 of Temple 1, Fig.313). This is the Hasaw Kan K'awil lintel. The name of the War Serpent is Waxaklahun U Bah and it is written right here (B2). All lintels from Tikal that show huge protector figures on palanquins seem to be war booties. We have one from Naranjo and one from El Peru; both were the two main enemies of Tikal. Here we have another palanquin with another protector figure. The question arises of whether this also represents a war booty from a different city. This is a protector god from another city. Which city uses, more than any other city, this war iconography and derived Teotihuacan iconography? Teotihuacan. Well, this is evidence that Teotihuacan was overtaken by Tikal. (Everyone laughs here!) Simon and I were thinking, but it is extremely tentative, that this may be the palanquin of Piedras Negras, because in the Maya area Piedras Negras makes the most use of this type of iconography. (Simon says here that El Peru Altar 1 has the same palanquin.) It all depends on the origin of the El Peru altar.



Waxaklahun U Bah

Fig.313

A question is brought up here on the reading of the star war verb. (Nikolai) For me the most critical context to test any reading of the star shell war expression are the canoes scenes from the Tikal bones where the war verb is used to describe the sinking of the canoe.

(Linda) I would like to personally thank all of the staff, Peter Keeler, and Linda Manning for making this workshop run. Quite frankly, I've said this before and I'll say it again, if it weren't for Peter and people like Linda and Tom and Ben and everyone who helps I wouldn't do this. There is no way that I would have these workshops unless somebody else did all of the hard boring work. So I would like to thank all of them. Second of all, you may not have gotten a lot out of this, but the glyphers did, especially Nikolai and I. So what we have decided to do already is to continue this next year. We will probably take off from the point of where our detailed discussion ended and we will at least set up the workbook so that it goes through the collapse. This will include Chichen Itza, Xcalamkin, and all of the other sites which we will flesh out and see if by doing this sort of studying of the juxta-position we can get a handle on the written history and the

patterns that are going on in the Post Classic. This means that I can tell you already that the focus next year will be on the collapse, but we are not going to have very many materialists here. We are going to have people who deal with history and who try to understand from this point of view. (Nikolai) This year we have tried to show hierarchies and Maya states which became established and next year we want to show how the political system and the network of alliances break. What happens is two great blocks of alliances collapse and you all of a sudden have the rise of uncontrolled, independent, political movements.

END OF DAY TWO
5:10 PM

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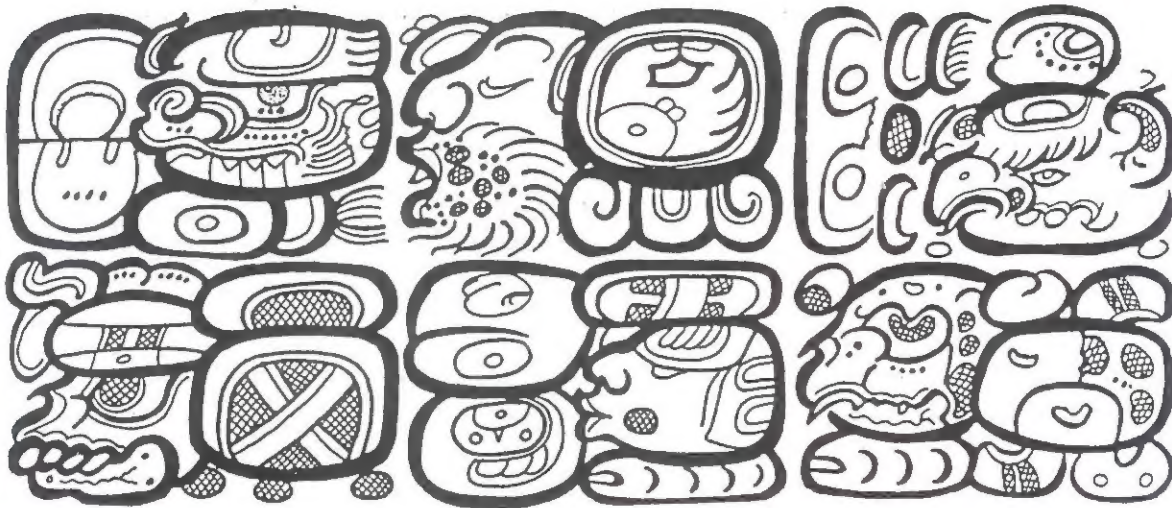
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